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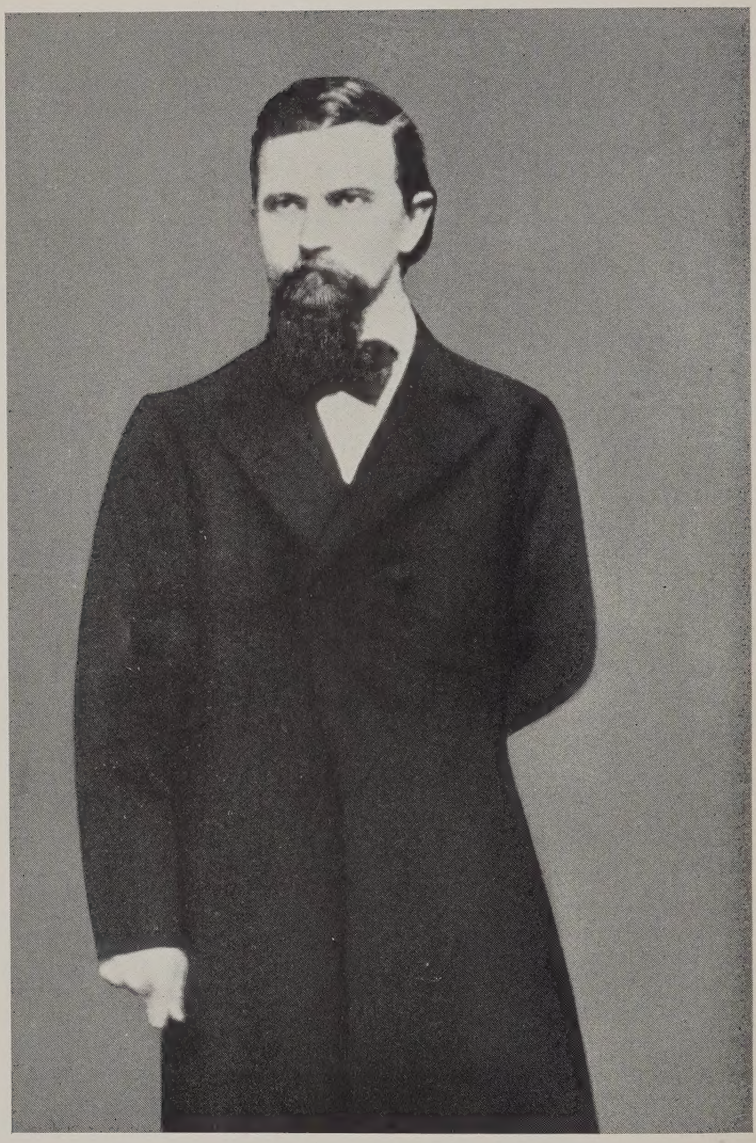

MILTON S. LATHAM

Enlarged from a photograph taken at about the time of his election to the Senatorship.
(Courtesy California State Library)

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Quarterly of the
California Historical Society

THE DAY JOURNAL OF MILTON S. LATHAM

JANUARY 1 TO MAY 6, 1860

Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by
EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON
Byrne Professor of American History, Stanford University

INTRODUCTION*

Milton Slocum Latham, who served as United States Senator from California, 1860–1863, was born in Columbus, Ohio, on May 23, 1827. His father was a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Harvard, and a practicing lawyer in Ohio. The son attended schools and college in Ohio. He taught school in Russell County, Alabama, where he later studied law, was admitted to the bar, and served for a time as clerk of the circuit court. This southern experience seems to have had its effect in his subsequent career.

He arrived in San Francisco on April 15, 1850, and entered upon a political career which held his interest for a dozen years. Serving briefly as district attorney (Sacramento County), he was nominated and elected to Congress, taking his seat in December, 1853. Serving only one term, for he declined renomination, he nevertheless made positive contribution to the discussions of Congress. He did so by vigorous presentation of the needs of California. In addition to an interest in land claims, in extension of the courts, and in an improved overland mail service, he had much to say of need of a line of mail steamers for trade with the Orient. "It will be the first step towards the entire revolution in the world's commerce . . . It will change the complexion and political configuration of Asia, and give new impetus and direction to the enterprise of our own people." By appointment of President Pierce, he became Collector of the Port at San Francisco, and aroused considerable antagonism by his conduct of that office, partly because of the local conflicts made pointed by the activity of the Vigilance Committee, partly because of the state and national conflicts turning about the rivalry of the two factions of the Democratic party, one led by David C. Broderick and the other by William M. Gwin, both of them United States Senators.

*This Journal, the gift of Mrs. James H. Pierce, is in the possession of the Stanford University Library (Borel Collection). In preparation of notes the assistance of Miss Alice Rose and Miss Dorothea Wyatt, graduate students in history at Stanford University, is gratefully acknowledged. Thanks are also due the authorities of the Bancroft Library (University of California) and of the Huntington Library (San Marino, California) for access to important materials.

Latham was of neither faction, for he was his own faction. He wished to go to the Senate, and although only thirty, when he gave up the Collectorship in 1857, his abilities had marked him for distinction in public life, quite apart from his ambition and his skill in politics. At the time of the election of Broderick to the Senate, Latham had felt that dissension in the Democratic party was the greatest danger. In two letters now in the possession of the Huntington Library, under dates of October 6 and November 18, 1856, writing to J. W. Mandeville, Latham pointed out with clarity the weakness in the Democratic party position and with keen penetration estimated the strength of Broderick. He had reason to remember this in the campaign of 1859, for although he was elected Governor by a great majority, he had been savagely attacked by Broderick in the course of the canvass.

Prior to his inauguration as Governor on January 9, 1860, a vacancy in the Senate had resulted from the death of Broderick, who had been killed in a duel by David S. Terry. Two days after the inauguration Latham was chosen Senator by the Legislature. It caused general surprise that he should accept as he did.

This Day Journal, which is here published, makes it clear, however, that he did so gladly—in fact he directed the legislative canvass through his secretary. His interests were in the Washington government rather than at Sacramento. In his brief term as Governor he transmitted to Buchanan the action of the preceding legislature which had agreed to a division of the state of California, the southern counties having voted for a separation from the state, and he presented at length the constitutional questions arising out of the proposal. It is of some significance that, arriving in Washington in March and conversing with President Buchanan as to California politics on several occasions, he records no mention of this subject in his journal. He was made much of by the administration, although his relations with his colleague Gwin were strained. He also had social relations with Stephen A. Douglas, although these were less cordial after Latham made his "Labor and Capital" speech on April 16. This constituted a defense of slavery, and included attacks upon the capacities of the negro, economic motives of the north, and morals of the Republican party. It was a powerful speech. It was in the course of this address, which brought him much commendation from the administration and even compliments from Charles Sumner, that he said, "In event of the dissolution of the Union we in California would have reasons to induce us to become members neither of the southern Conferedacy, nor of the northern Confederacy, and would be able to sustain for ourselves the relations of a free and independent state." He supported Breckenridge in the presidential contest of 1860, and when later taunted with the "independent California" prophecy, denied that he was ever other than a staunch Union man. He remained in Washington until after the inauguration of Lincoln, advising a cautious course and saying much of the maintenance of the Constitution. For two more years he served as a member of the helpless minority in the Senate, usually supporting the war measures, but denouncing the conduct of the administration. He addressed a Great Union Demonstration in San Francisco in the

spring of 1861, when he amplified his views. He was not reelected and retired from public life.*

This Day Journal, aside from the detailed knowledge that it provides of the way in which Latham passed from the governorship to the senatorship, definitely establishes two points of considerable significance. The speech of April 16, from which a quotation appears above, was a true reflection of Latham's daily life at the time when he was painstaking in the care with which he kept on good terms with both factions of the Democratic party in Washington. Also it adds substance to the view of the extraordinary success which this young man had in the politics of Washington, as well as in the politics of his adopted state. It makes less fantastic the statement of Theodore H. Hittell in his History of California quoted below. We are forced to give greater weight to the comment of the friendly *Alta* in its editorial of January 12, 1860, in which we read, "Nothing less than a dissolution of the Union can prevent him (Latham) from reaching the White House."

*Note by the Publication Committee: Latham's term as Senator expired on March 4, 1863, and on that date, though not yet forty years of age, he retired from politics, thenceforth devoting his attention to business. Here he duplicated the success which had marked his political career. As manager of the London and San Francisco Bank he soon became one of the leading men of affairs on the Pacific Coast; and in his mansion on Folsom Street, as well as in his palatial country home at San Mateo, he gathered a notable collection of painting and sculpture. Latham was always noted for his "elegance of person," and his home became the resort of the socially elite of the state.

Among the other men of great wealth then living in San Francisco were the "Big Four" of the Central Pacific, and after a number of years of unparalleled success as a banker, Latham determined to follow in their footsteps and build a railroad. Accordingly he poured several millions of dollars into a scheme to tap the redwood forests of the Russian River country by constructing a railroad along the coast north of San Francisco. The enterprise was unsuccessful, and during the panic years of the late seventies Latham lost his entire fortune. His collections of art, his San Francisco home, his country estate, all went to satisfy his creditors, and at the age of fifty he left San Francisco to attempt to recoup his fortunes in New York, where he died in 1882.

For sketches of Latham's career see *San Francisco Examiner*, April 16, 1882; "Early California Millionaires," in *The Californian Illustrated Magazine*, December 1892-May 1893, Vol. III, pp. 79-80; *How to Get Rich in California*, by Col. B. B. Taylor, 1876, pp. 129-30; same in *San Francisco News Letter*, March 11, 1876, p. 16; Phelps, *Contemporary Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 156-60; Shuck, O. T., *Bench and Bar*, 1901, pp. 473 *et seq; Shuck, Representative Men of the Pacific*, pp. 609 *et seq.*

THE JOURNAL

Sunday January 1st 1860.

This is New Years day, and the day before the assembling of the Legislature of the State of California at Sacramento.

And the throng of strangers now here give indication of an exciting contest[1] for the position of U. S. Senator, to be chosen at the present Session of the Legislature.

The more prominent candidates are, John W. Denver,[2] John B. Weller (the present & outgoing Governor,)[3] Jo Baldwin,[4] Sam[l] W Inge,[5] B. F. Washington,[6] and James A. M[c] Dougall.[7]—All appearing sanguine, and each having hosts of friends. The fact that Weller is supported by the present U.S. Senator Gwin,[8] & his friends, induces him to believe he is going to have an easy race & win—"We will see, what we shall see."

Monday January 2 .

At 12 o'clk, M.[9][,] the two houses, Senate & Assembly, convened. The oaths were administer[e]d in the Senate by Judge Hardy, & in the Assembly by Judge Cope. a full attendance of members,[10] and a very large lobby. No business transacted today,[11] & both houses adjourned. The all absorbing topic is the Senatorship.[12] The newly elected & incoming Governor Latham, declares his pref=erence[13] for Senator to be Denver. But it is quite evident that Denvers leader, Sam[l] Smith of Marysville, is not equal to the emergency—

Tuesday January 3d 1860.

A great deal of hard work done to day, in the strife for President pro tem of Senate & Speaker of Assembly,[14] and the organization generally. Quinn of Tuolumne and Dickinson of ElDorado,[15] the rival candidates in the Senate, and Quinn (Anti Weller) wins—Beard beats Palmer for Sec'y of Senate[16]—Beard is Anti Weller. And this result is a pretty sure indication that Weller is in the minority in the Senate—Denver stock looking up, Baldwin's friends smiling and Wellers friends wearing long faces.

Stevenson of Tehama,[17] Anti Weller candidate for Speaker,[18] takes the house by surprise by proposing Moore of Nevada for Speaker,—of course he was elected by acclimation—no opposition; Moore himself, unprepared, is completely dumbfounded—this is a brilliant move, & reflects credit upon *our side.* Moore is a strong Weller man.

Wednesday 4th 1860.

The feature of the day is the call for the Caucus of the democratic members, signed by 52 members[19]—Denvers friends taking the initiative, and Wellers. fighting shy, & refuse to sign — But 52 bring [sic] a majority [—] will Caucus tomorrow night — for democratic candidate for U.S. Senator — much solicitude felt for the result of the first ballot.

Thursday 5th January 1860

The City is all agog, and all sorts of rumors, bets &c &c as to the first ballot of the Caucus tonight—much hard work,—Weller men betting he will be nominated on the first ballot,

Inge has been fooled into throwing his strength for Weller, it is said, upon Wellers promise to throw his strength for Inge, if he goes to the wall. Inge is supposed to control 6 votes.

7.P.M. Caucus met, Watkins of Yuba in the chair, Beard Sec'y—roll called, all present, & on motion doors closed— Peachy of S.F. nominated J.G. Baldwin,—Dickinson of El Dorado, nominated J. B. Weller, Lawrence of Trinity, nominated J W Denver,—Watson of Monterry [sic] nominated J A M^{c} Dougall,—Titus of El Dorado, nominated B. F. Washington.— No further nominations, clerk called the roll for the 1st ballot— result, Weller 38. Denver 31. Baldwin 11. M^{c}Dougall 8. Washington 9.

2^{d}	ballot,	Weller	39.	Denver	32.	B.	11.	Washington	9.	M^{c}D. 6.
3^{d}	ballot,	"	39.	"	32.	B.	12.	"	8.	M^{c}D. 6.
4th	ballot,	"	38.	"	32.	B.	12.	"	9.	M^{c}D. 6.
5th	ballot,	"	38.	"	32.	B.	12.	"	9.	M^{c}D. 6.
6th	ballot,	"	39.	"	31.	B.	12.	"	9.	M^{c}D. 6.
7th	ballot,	"	38.	"	32.	B.	12.	"	8.	M^{c}D. 7.

—total 97—necessary for a choice 49. no choice, On motion of Lespeyre[20] adjour^{d} till tomorrow 7 P.M.[21] Weller men in good Spirits—Denver's sopp [?][22] generally, *anxious!*

Friday Jan'y 6th 1860.

A very busy day.— Much astonishment manifested that Gov Weller does not send in his annual message,[23] the cause supposed to be that he is holding off until after the Caucus shall declare its choice for Senator[24]—Weller men on the brag to day, and offer bets, which are freely taken by *our side.*

7 P.M. Second night of Caucus. Watkins in chair, roll called—all present. doors closed.

1st	ballot.	Weller	40.	Den	32.	Bal^{d}	11.	Wash^{n}	8.	M^{c}D. 6.
2^{d}	ballot.	"	41.	Den	33.	"	8.	"	9.	" 5.
3^{d}	ballot.	"	42.	Den	32.	"	9.	"	9.	" 5.

Total 97—necessary to choice 49. No choice— On motion to adjourn to Tuesday Evening 10th inst, the vote stood Ayes 54: Noes 40. Weller men voting No.[25]

It is quite evident to night that Denver must go to the wall—Can get no enthusiasm on him, & Combinations, with him in the ring—impossible. *Something* must be done, at once.[26]

Saturday January 7th 1860

A day of much anxiety with the opposition to Weller, and it is urged that only one man can win the fight—& that man is Milton S. Latham, the Governor elect.[27] It is a position not to be refused, and yet on Monday (the day after to-morrow) he will be inaugerated [sic] Governor of the State of California.

What a quandary to be in, Denver is frightened—Holladay[28] insists—and after much persuasion[29] at 4. PM; tells Wallace his Private Sec'y, *there is work to do to night!* Wallace is delighted, Geo Evans called in, and the Governor gives his orders, determined to make the fight his own way,—to Marshal his own hosts. With *secresy* [sic] & *dispatch.* Had an interview with Inge at One

o'clk at night, at Gov^{s} rooms—Inge took time to consider, would answer at 1. o'clk Monday. Heydenfeldt reported Baldwin all right—Peachy a trump. Gave orders to Wallace & Evans for to morrow, & went to bed *very late*. Much depends upon the morrow.

Sunday January 8th 1860.

A rainy, muddy, day—Evans & Wallace engaged all day in bringing members to [the] Governors rooms, where Denver. & Latham were awaiting them—done [sic] an enormous quantity of work today, principally, if not exclusiv[e]ly, with Denvers supporters. All responded cordially to the proposition except two—(Laspeyre & Smith of Sutter,) and promised faithfully not to divulge—not to speak of it among themselves, as every thing depends upon keeping our own Counsels — In good spirits, for it works charmingly! — & must succeed if no mistake is made. Retire very late, *knowing* the game is made. Must win or lose.

Monday Jan'y 9th 1860.

The inauguration took place to day, in the 'Pavilion'[30]— a very large crowd present, A *Grand Procession* of the Military as escort &c &c and at night a Ball, given in honor of the new Governor. Every thing went off brilliantly—Gov Weller & Lady present & wore a satisfied, triumphant look, and appeared generally as though he would be the Caucus nominee tomorrow night.

Did a heap of work to day, and the enemy as innocent as lambs about what's going on, don't dream of such a thing. And am proud to say that our men are acting gallantly, obeying orders & keeping *mum*.[31]

As usual retire late, *but not much sleep*. There are no drawbacks to day, except that Inge, declines the proposition, and is green enough to believe that Weller will throw his vote to him. There never will be but *one* ballot tomorrow night *sure*. If our men stand firm on the first ballot, we've *got 'em!* To night Milton S Latham is Governor of California!

Tuesday January 10th 1860.

"This is the great, the immortal day, big with the fate of Cato & of Rome"—To day our friends seem steady, Laspeyre and Smith of Sutter[32] have determined to join our forces— Our count stands 54.[33]

7. P.M. Caucus met, Watkins in the chair, roll called, all present.—Peachy withdrew the name of Baldwin, and nominated Milton S. Latham, Lawrence, withdrew the name of Denver.— Conn withdrew the name of M^{c}Dougall—Weller men alarmed[34] and made speeches for the first hour, & wanted to adjourn,—our men firm as rocks. And the 1st & only ballot resulted, Latham 51. Weller 43. Scatter[in]g the balance. In accordance with the vote, the chair announced Milton S. Latham the nominee of the Caucus.

Phelps, Schmidt & Sawyer all of San Francisco, on whom we had counted went to the enemy.

Those who voted for Latham, were, Senators, Bradley, Crittenden, Denver,[35] De la Guerra, Dent, Eagon, Kirkpatrick, Lansing, Leet, Logan, M^{c}Donald, Peachy[,] Quinn, Redman, Ryan, Sharp, Vance[,] & Watkins = Assembly

Babcock, Bailey, [of] Santa Clara,[36] Bailey, [of] Tuol[u],[36] Burson, Campbell, Conn, Coverubias[,][37] Crowell, Curtis, Dunlap, Ellis, Gallagher, Goodman, Groom, Gwinn, Hawley, Hayes, Henry, Hugg, Johnson of Sierra, Lambert[,] Laspeyre, Lawrence, Malarin, Rogers [of] S. F.[,][38] Smith of Sutter, Stevenson, Stone, Theller, Welty, White, Williams, Wilson,=51.

Those who voted for Weller were*[39] Titus & Phelps for Washington,*[40] Senators=Anderson, Dickinson, Franklin, Haynes, Merritt, O'Farrell, Parks, Pico, Watson, Assembly[n][41]=Beach, Bell, Bowman, Daggett, Fairchild, Halliday,[42] Hammond, Harville, Heston, Howe, Hundley, Jenkins, Johnson of Amador, King, Kungle, Lamar, Lewis, Lovell, Makin,[43] Moore, M[c]Dermit, O'Rear, Pate, Patten, Sawyer, Schmidt, Shelton, Smith of Nevada, Walden, Watson, Westcoat,[44] Wilkins, and Yager, Yancey.

Wednesday, January 11[th] 1860.

The two Houses met in the Assembly chamber, in Joint Convention to elect a Senator in Congress,

Wide latitude was given members in explanation of their votes.[45] Two tellers were appointed[:] Lansing by President of the Senate[,] and Lamar by Speaker of Assembly. Nominations being in order[,] Welty nominated Milton S. Latham, Parker, nominated Oscar L. Shafter, and Conness nominated Edmund Randolph.=Sec'y called the roll—result. Latham 97. Shafter 3. Randolph 14.[46]

Those who voted for Latham were, Senators=Anderson, Bradley, Crittenden, De la Guerra, Dent, Denver, Dickinson, Eagon, Franklin, Haynes, Kirkpat[k], Lansing, Leet, Logan, M[c]Donald, Merritt, O'Farrell, Parks, Peachy, Pico, Quinn, Redman, Ryan, Sharp, Titus, Vance, Watkins, & Watson. Assembly men, Babcock, Bailey, [of] Santa Clara,[47] Bailey, [of] Tuol[n][,][47] Beach, Bell, Bowman, Burson, Campbell, Conn, Coverrubias, Crowell, Curtis, Daggett, Dunlap, Ellis, Fairchild, Gallagher, Goodman, Groom, Gwinn, Halliday[,] Hammond, Harville, Hawley, Hayes, Henry, Heston, Howe, Hugg, Hundley, Jenkins, Johnson, [of] Amador[48]—Johnson, [of] Sierra[,][48] King, Kungle, Lamar, Lambert, Laspeyre, Lawrence, Lewis, Lovell, Makin, Malarin, Moore, M[c]Dermit, O'Rear, Pate, Patten, Phelps, Rogers, [of] S. F.[,][48] Rodgers, [of] Tuolm[e][,][48] Sawyer, Schmidt, Shelton, Smith, [of] Nevada,[48] Smith, [of] Sutter,[48] Stevenson, Stone, Theller, Walden, Watson, Welty, Westcoatt, White, Wilkins[,] Williams, Wilson, Yager, Yancey.—97.

Those who voted for Shafter, were, Parker, Phelps[,] & Tilton—3.

Those who voted for Randolph were* [49]*Ballou, Chase, Clark, Edgerton, Wheeler, Conness, Coombs. Halstead,[50] Maxson, O'Connor, Shannon, Shattuck, Starr[,] & Swann[51]—14.

☞To night Milton S. Latham is United States Senator!

Thursday January 12[th] 1860.[52]

Governor Latham transnitted [sic] to the Senate the nominations of Charles R. Street vice Thomas Brennan, and of L. B. Mizner vice John B. Schaeffer,[53] and of Horace Austin vice George R Ryder,[54] and of Henry M. Benson vice F.

Shockley[,][55] to be Port Wardens of the Port of San Francisco. all confirmed.[56] Also a message[57] to the Senate & Assembly, resigning the office of Governor (and accepting that of U. S. Senator,) to take effect on Saturday 14th inst at 12. M.

Friday January 13th 1860.

Governor Latham transmitted to the Assembly a special message on the subject of Indian hostilities in Mendecino [sic] County, with accompanying documents.[58]

Also commissioned Daniel Gibb, Capt Thomas, P. W. VanWinkle, & Hugh O'Reilly, Pilot Commissioners for the Port of San Francisco.[59]

Saturday January 14th 1860.

Gov. Lathams resignation took effect at 12. M, to day, whereupon Lt Gov Downey was duly inaugerated [sic] as Governor, and his first official act was to sign the Comn.[60] of Milton S. Latham as United States Senator for California. *Wallace*[61] filled in the date, and *Gillis* had the pleasure of presenting it to the young Senator. Why say more?, the battle has been fought & victory is ours!— "and many rejoice thereat" My task is done,

GEORGE WALLACE, [signed]
Pri. Sec'y.

Sunday, January 29, 1860[62]

For past two weeks have been very busy arranging my private business preparatory to sailing for Washington City on 6 Feby, in[st][.] Have been requested by many to run as a Delegate to the Charleston Convention but have *declined* to allow the use of my name,[63]— The "National"[64] has commenced a system of attack upon me, designed to prejudice Mr Buchanan and his administration against me. *It will not succeed.* The design is flimsy & transparent. From all parts of the state, I have received congratulations.[65] The People are evidently pleased at the prospect of an end of the old Regime.— Gov Downey is disappointing every one, by his good sense & plainly marked course.—

Wensday [sic] *Feby 1, 1860*—

A painful sad seperation [sic] & parting with my darling Wife Sophie;[66] a cordeal [sic] Farewell from the Senators and Assembly men, & the most influential citizens of Sacramento, a bank crowded with people cheering me on my way;[67] a pleasant trip to S. F.—; a quiet room at my friend Davidson' and an end in sleep to a most exciting day.—

Feby 2nd 1860 to Feby 6, 1860.

How like a dream life seems. For four days, my rooms have been crowded with visitors of all grades & classes. A band from the Presidio came to serenade me at the Metropolitan. A most superb dinner party given by Barron's, at which Gen' Totten, Dr Bowie, Peachy, Billings, Downey, Halleck[,] Fairfax, Lake[,] & others were present. Mr Davidson gave me (another)[67a] a dinner also, and on morning of the 6', Wallace and my Brother[68] breakfasted with me.— at 9 o'clock on board the Sonora, Capt Baby Commander.— My friends had a Band of Music on the wharf & a vast crowd assembled to say "Good Bye".[69]— A parting letter to my dear wife, a shake of innumerable hands, a cheer and at 10 A M, we are off.—

Feby 6th to Feby 26, (Sunday) 1860.

On board the Sonora,[70] was Gen' Totten of the U. S. Army,=Gregory Yale Esq,=Wilson of the railroad & his family=Frank Denver=Mr Ewing of Sonoma Co & his family=& many old Californians. On the morning of 13th we arrived at 5 A. M. at Acapulco. Saw Gen' Wheat, Dr Billings[,] citizens of that miserable town.— At 10 A. M., were out to sea & at 6 P. M, Saturday 18th Feby[,] anchored at Panama after a most delightful trip.— I went on shore in a small boat & saw Capt Allen McLane brother to Louis & agt of P.M.S.S. Co, also Mr Rice & Corwin the Consul.— At 12 midnight the train started and at 5 A.M. of 19th Feby were out to sea on the beautiful "Baltic", Capt Gray, commander.— On the 19th[71] I was very sick and kept my bed.— On 20' was well and found that Professor Barrlett[72] [?] of West Point, Isaac Townsend=Mr Russell, Mr Whitenight=Gouverneur Kemble[,] Directors of the Steamship Cos & Railroad[,] were passengers from Aspinwall, Had a most delightful trip[73] and at 6 A.M. of the 26' Feby was pleasantly ensconced in "St Nicholas Hotel."—

Feby 26' 1860 to March 2nd 1860.—(Friday)

Found Congressman Burch,[74] Judah,[74a] Majs Reading&Hensley—Mr Murphy of San Jose and other Californians waiting for me.—[75] I received calls from Collector Schell, P. M. Fowler, Baron Rothschild, Mr Belmont and a hundred others. Was dined by Marcene Monson, & by the Californians at the "Metropolitan Hotel."[76] Saw Hannah Lawrence & her sisters, Mrs Barney[77] [?], Mrs Henick,[77] Mrs Stockwell, Mrs Bodie & others who had lived in California. Heard Patti the great songster in company with Hannah.— and on 2nd March at 6 A.M. left for Washington[78] with all the Californians.—Arrived at 6 P.M, & went to my rooms on 11str.—

Saturday, March 3d, 1860.

In company with Mr Burch, I called upon President Buchanan. My reception was cordial. We had a plain talk about California Politics. I undeceived him about My position. Found that he had been prejudiced against Me by Dr Gwin & Scott. Called on Sec'ty' Toucey, Cobb, Cass, Thompson, & P.M. Gen' Holt & was received kindly *by all.* Found that same impression existing as to my friendship for Judge Douglas.—[79]

Sunday, March 4, 1860.—

Dined with Sam' Ward,[80] a most remarkable man.— A[t] 8 P.M., called on Judge Douglas, found him at tea with his family. Had a full interview with him of *three hours.* Found him full of hope.—

Monday, March 5, 1860—

Judge Haun[81] insisted upon presenting my credentials and *by advice* of Gov Fitzpatrick & Judge Douglas, I consented. While I was in room of Sergeant at Arms of Senate[,] Dr Gwin came in & spoke to me.— I told him, I should be pleased to co-operate with him in legislation, but was his political enemy.— His course *was dictated* by President Buchanan.[82] At one P.M, I took the oath *to support the Constitution of the U. S.* and was declared to be a Senator.— Gov

Hammond & Mr Chestnut of S. C.[,] Mr Nicholson & Gov Johnson of Tenn', Bright & Fitch of Ia[83]— Iverson & Toombs of Georgia=Douglas of Ill'=Clay & Fitzpatrick of Ala[,] Bragg & Clingman of N. C.=Saulsbury & Bayard of Delaware=Green of Mo=Johnson & Sebastian of Ark=Thompson[84] of N. Jersey=Hunter & Mason of Va=Mallory & Yulee of Florida=Slidell of La[,] & Benjamin Hemphill & Wigfall of Texas, all came up & congratulated me.— I find myself the youngest member of the body, being not yet 33 yrs old.—

Thursday March 8, 1860.

Dined with Mr Scott of Cal'[85] & found present Gov' Brown & wife[86][,] & McRae of Mississippi[,] Smith of Va=Otero of New Mexico & wife.

Friday, March 9, 1860—

At 6 P.M. dined with President Buchanan. Was presented to Miss Lane[87]— Madame Bodisco was assigned to me.— Found Mrs Rosevelt of N. Y.[,] Sec's Cobb & Thompson=Baron Stoeckel[88] & wife=Mr Jenkins (an old schoolmate) & wife (daughter of Mr Bowlin,[89] Minister to Paraguay)[,] and many others. Had a most delightful party.—

Saturday 10', 1860—

Dined with Judge Douglas' family. Present[:] Senator Anthony of Rhode Island, Miss Carroll of Washington City.=

Sunday 11, 1860

Dined with Sam' Ward Esq. Present[:] Sam Butterworth of N. J.=Mr Pennington, son of the Speaker=Brown[,] Ed' of Constitution=

Friday, March 23, 1860

Dined with Senator Slidell.— Present[:] Mrs Slidell & two Daughters, Mr Delon & wife (formerly Mary Walker, daughter of Gov Walker)[,] Mr Benjamin, Bayard of Del'.[,] Baron Stoeckel (Russian Minister)[,] Baron Rothschild, Mr Barlow (Agt P.M.S.S. Co).—

To day I made my first speech[90] in Senate [—] *3 minutes long.*

Saturday March 24, 1860.

Dined with Mr Barlow, present[:] St Moury of Arizona, Mr Old[91] (U. S. Dist Atty for Dist)[,] Bayard, Benjamin[,] & Rothschild.—

Saturday March 24' 1860.[92]

Today I called upon President Buchanan, regarding the vacancy to occur in the Postal Department of Cal[a]. by the resignation of M. Fry[93] (mail agent). The President stated, that in full Cabinet meeting my wishes had been made known, and they (the Cabinet) desired to do me full and equal justice— The Presd[t]. asked me "how do you & Dr Gwin get on together now" — I replied that socially we pulled exceedingly well, and that we had agreed not to talk on political matters— but to work for the People of California and bury differences—

Just at this moment D[r] Gwin came in—

The Doctor asked M— President "who are you for, sir, for President" and to this no reply was given— The President said Doctor "that is a direct question,"

"who are you for— for President— "for General Lane,[94] sir"— "though I am satisfied M Hunter[95] of Virginia will receive the Southern vote as a unit."
The President thought M— Hunter could carry California[,] Oregon, New Jersey, Pennsylvania[,] Illinois[,] & Con[nt].— To this I objected, stating that California alone, of all the Northern states, would go for him— and that only because — *any Democrat could carry it*—
I thought I observed a deadly hostility to M' Douglass[96] [sic] and that the President would favor "Jo Lane"— or that, if Mr Hunter was forced upon the Charleston Convention by the South— M Lane would get the nomination with the view of carrying the Pacific Coast.
When the President asked me "who I was for"[97]— I replied, "for any one, sir, who can be Elected"— his reply was "that it was a shrewd and correct reply." After bidding the Pres[dt] and Miss Lane "goodby"— for it was Miss Lanes reception day— D[r]. Gwin & myself called upon Ma[98] & M[sllle] Pattie[,][99] the young opera singer— she was pretty, young and full of life— and the expression of her face, has a remarkable resemblance to that of my wife— so many had informed me, and D[r]. Gwin confirmed. We then called upon Mrs Senator Slidell and afterwards upon Madam Stoeckel— wife of the Russian Minister.

In the Evening: I went to the opera— there I saw Mrs Douglass meet, Miss Lane, face to face, without recognition and with apparent revengefulness— I road [sic] up in Judge Douglass carriage to the Capitol— Told him I thought he *would not* get the nomination at Charleston : but that he had the power to dictate who Should be President *and that were I in his place I would USE IT*— That with the powers and progress of the young and giant growing West, it would be impossible to keep him out of the Presidential chair—*if he would only bide his time*— that he (Douglass) was young— and had[100] every thing to gain— He seemed to think his chances at Charleston, as good, if not better than any one else's— was sanguine—and I bid him and his lady, "good night"—

Saturday, March 24, 1860

I neglected on the previous pages to add a short "tete à tète" with M— President.

D[r]. Gwin as he came out of M Buchanans appartments [sic], told me "the President desires to see you for a moment"— I returned.
The President said, "have you called upon Mrs D[r]. Gwin yet"— no, sir— "but why not"— because I did not think my visit would be acceptable— "I think you are mistaken for the Doctor told me he and his wife talked the matter all over and they had agreed to let by gones, be by gones"— I am glad to hear of it, sir— "But did you not tell Miss Lane, that Mrs Gwin had given you the cold shoulder at the last reception"— no, sir, "ah, some one else did"— yet it is nevertheless true, sir: the room was not crowded and the Gentleman with whom Mrs Gwin was walking, "Señor R. Pacheco," recognized me and pronounced my name. "There must be some mistake, sir; for I have heard Mrs D[r] Gwin, speak of you in the highest terms"— I bowed—and the President replied "you

must act to suit yourself—I would like to see things move on smoothly"—The conversation ran towards the Presidency— and he said "it was an office all sought—the highest and grandest upon Earth: but no one would seek to keep it,[101] for it was the target for all to shoot at. a Presidents hands are tied, and they are cowards—cowards, sir—those who attack him." And with "good morning M' President"—we parted.

Sunday March 25.

Dined with Sam[l]. Ward, and there were present, D[r]. Gwin, Baron Rothceild,[102] San Cox[,][103] and M' Brown[,] Editor of the Constitution— A party, evidently for a purpose*. Cox said that Douglass was bullied into his antagonism against the "English Bill"[104] of last Congress : that he heard Rot. J. Walker[105] speak eloquently to Douglass in its favor and that he (Douglass) walked the room with large drops of sweat springing from his forehead— "they were almost drops of blood." The impression of the party seemed to be that, the late David. C. Broderick, held Douglass by some thread unknown to the outside world—and succeeded too well in accomplishing his end.

*Purpose! Desirous of "hiveing"!!

Monday. March 26'. 1860

To day, I presented an amendment[106] to Pacific "Telegraph Bill" which was defeated, although the Bill passed the Senate.

M'. Rice of Minnasota [sic], sent for me at the Vice Presidents anti-room and said he regreted to learn I had made use of language (regarding a report that I this day presented to the Committee upon Indian Affairs ; a report in which the said Senator was interested) stating that he (Rice) would fight my report on the ground of interest— After proving to him that I had made no such charge *(as we were particularly friendly)* by the person to whom I had stated I had reported against the bill—we quietly went of[f] together—and smiled! Sequel : it won't do to talk—when fools add the sting!!

The Vice President afterwards informed me that Senator R. was particularly morbid upon these points, because when he presented his credentials, charges were made against him—and although being proved false, left the effect of this peculiar sensitiveness. But smoke will follow fire!

Tuesday. March 27' 1860

I dined at a circular table today this wise: first the Lady of the House—Mrs. Greenhow—at her right Gen[l]. Jo Lane—Mrs Barksdale—M[r] Gould[—] Gov W[n]. Smith of V[a]—M[r] Barksdale of Miss[pi].—Mrs Gould[—] Judge Iverson of Ga—Mrs Bigler—M[r] Pringle of Cal[a][—] Miss Greenhow—M. S. Latham and to the left of Mrs G[reenhow,] Gen[l]. Caleb Cushing.

This was a Diplomatic dinner— given, to advance the stock of Gen[l]. Jo Lane of Oregon, who is said to be exceedingly sweet upon the giver.

Thursday April 5. 1860

I have been to New York but *between* the dates, there is nothing of interest to jot down. Yesterday I succeeded—with D[r] Gwins aid, and my Republican bretheren [sic]— to pass Major Hensly's "Indian appropriation" *claim* of

$96.000 through the Senate[107] : also the private Bill of Mrs Morris,[108] the sister of Judge Monson of Sac: City, went through safely to my gratification. Introduced, and was accepted by the Indian "Committe[e]", an Amendment— whereby, if the General Government would give the State an annual sum of $50.000[,] the State would accept the charge of all the Indians within the limits of California.

To day I made quite a speech upon the Subject[109] before the Senate.

Went to dine yesterday at Gen[l]. Cass'— there were 20 or 30 present— State dinner— nothing occurr[e]d of importance. After dinner called upon Sam Medary[110] formerly from Columbus Ohio—an old friend of my Father & his family— he is here for the purpose of gathering his family together and to move them all to Kansas of which Territory he is now the Governor— He is old[,] gray-headed, yet very hale : and it seems sad that one who had enjoyed wealth in youth should meet poverty in old age.

Coming home I met the celebrated Colo. Forney[111] now clerk of the House of Representatives— I spoke to him very kindly & cordially to which he seemed surprised : we walked to "whisky" together, and he related to me the remarkable interview that took place between Broderick & Douglass upon the subject of the English bill.

The morning the Bill was to come up, Douglass called upon Walker, and Walker approved of Douglass' intention to support the Bill— Douglass went with some gentleman (name forgotten) to Brodericks rooms, finding Broderick, Hickman, Forney— And when Douglass informed Broderick that he intended to support the English Bill— Broderick turned upon him, his face perfectly livid with anger and said— "Sir, I cannot understand it— you will be crushed between the Democracy and the Republicans ; I shall denounce you, sir—" You had better Sir, go into the street & blow your dam brains out[.][112] Douglass replied "if such is your intention I will not vote for it"—[113] Forney said Douglass quailed before him and committed his great political error— Broderick was *the leader!*

Forney had just come out of a small caucus of friends: Said Hickman was lost to the Democracy for he had gone to the Republican Camp : that Ned Beal, a Southern man, was the most bitter Republican present at the meeting— and that he never would go to the Republican's himself, *from affection* : but that force and ill treatment alone could drive him to them.

He seemed to admit that Douglass had no chances at Charleston ; nevertheless he *had hopes*—he at least could make the President.

5th April to 16.

During this period, I was busily engaged in preparing a Speech— "Upon Slavery in the States and Territories, and the Doctrine of the "Irrepressible Conflict" between "Labor States" and "Capital States"

Monday. April 16. 1860.

Having previously obtained the floor of the Senate, for the hour of 1 °Clock; this day was one of great importance— I was to make my "maiden speech",

before one of the greatest body [sic] of men in the world— The day was stormy; nevertheless, there were very many gentlemen in the galleries—and all the Californians in Washington— It was estimated between eight hundred & 1000. It took about one hour and a half, and I did not falter : and *"the"* Speech, was received upon all[114] hands with favor,[115] while the Californians were eager and ununbounded [sic] in their expressions of delight—
I understood that the President was walking round Madison Square, anxiously waiting the result, and particularly my position upon the "Territorial question"—[116] and he sint [sic] for Senator Clay, who had given me great attention during the delivery, to find out— the Senator, satisfied him— that it was a "great Speech". the speech of the Session—and perfectly orthodox[117] in all of its sentiments— this pleased the President. Moreover, it was a gratification to be listened to by the Senators themselves—more, are said to have paid me marked attention, than is customary.

April 21st.

Many Congratulations, have I had upon my Speech upon "Labor & Capital States" : — I was forced into a running debate,[118] regarding an Amendment to the "Hom[e]stead Bill" presented by Dr. Gwin— appertaining to the mineral lands of California, wherein I acquitted my Self with credit—— The Douglass men, and even Mr. Douglass seemed to be pleased — Mr Seward said I "had gone over the dam"—Mr Summer, replied that I "had gone over a whale and was the ablest debater upon the Democratic side of the Senate"— The President upon the reception night—complimented me thus "M' Latham, I heard of your Speech before the Senate : it did you great Credit and it gave me much pleasure" — Miss Lane also referred to it to Burch & Scott who went with me— I understood that Senator Douglass thought I should *not* have given Dr Gwin an opportunity to set himself right upon "California's going with the Southern Confederacy in case of a Dissolution"—[119] Douglass & Gwin are very much opposed to each other.

Senator Hammond of South Carolina, said "he had read my speech with great interest; that if I was *dilligent,* and retained the same principals [sic], there was no telling, what would be my destiny."[120] A few evenings since I took dinner with Mr Brown[,] the Editor of the Constitution published here— Secretary Cobb & Lady— Sec: Thompson & lady— Miss Lane, Miss McAllister[,] & Sam Ward were the only parties present. Nothing of import occur[r]ed ; I was complimented by all—about my speech.

April 21st 1860.

I took dinner at Senator Douglass's [—] there were present[:] Miles Taylor, La, — Rust, Ala — Kitt—[121] SC — M' & Mrs Coutts,[122] father & mother of Mrs Douglass — Senators — Kennidy[123] [of] Md., Yulee [of] Fla, Gov Brown of Miss— This dinner was given to M' Preston our Minister to the Court of Madrid and his *non,* appearance [sic] caused Mrs Douglass to say "that she supposed Mr. Preston did not come because he was prevented by the Administration." It seemed to cast a gloom over the party: yet before it closed,

a note was received from M^r Preston which should have been delivered before— stating that he had left that morning for Charleston — he also sent a beautiful present to Mrs Douglass— Senator Douglass seemed to be very uneasy — he had either received bad news regarding his expected nomination for Presidency at Charleston — or he expected such—
Nothing occurred of moment.

April 26.

This day D^r. Gwin, my associate from Cal^a, and myself had a long walk together — and the Doctor said that "he was old enough and had honor sufficient to be contented, that he would retire to private life were it not for his family; they were un-willing so to do — that he actually had not money enough to make the canvass of the State for the Senate — that it was a terrible struggle that he was anxious to avoid.[124] He seemed to wish a Secretaryship under the *"Coming"* Administration — but admitted he would stand no chance provided Senator Douglass was nominated — or an embassy to England— I frankly told him I could not support him for the (State)[124a] Senate: but that he was an old man, a great man, but was houn[d]ed by an awful set in Cal^a yet I could and would aid him with the coming Powers, and would secure a foreign position for him, if he failed to get a Secretaryship for which he was eminently qualified— The Doctor took my hand & pressed it warmly when we parted— without a word.

A day or two after the above occurrence— There was a small party made up for M^t Vernon : ie— Miss Lane, Miss M^c. Allister & other ladies — Sam Ward — D^r Gwin & family &c &c— Mrs. Gwin remarked to me that "we intend to come back to the Senate"— this was said with such a dash that it was evident the conversation between the Doctor and myself had been reported, much to her ladyships disgust.

The party was agreeable— the trip delightful, and there was one young sweet face that reminded me so much of my mother — Miss Ripley— she was a nice (good)[124b] girl. surely.

April 28, /60[125]

Went to N. Y. & remained until 30 April[126] and returned with Camp & Alvord. While there dined with Overland Mail Company at the Fifth Avenue House & had a most jolly good time.— Called at Bay side on L. I. & saw Miss Hannah Lawrence & her connexion, also saw Judge Monson^s family.—

May 2 /60—

Dined with Gov Hammond of S. Carolina [—] present[:] Vice Pres' Brecenridge[127] & wife, Senator Gwin, Mr Boyce of S. C. & wife.— Gov Brown of Miss, Mrs Eve of Augusta Ga & her daughter *Eva Eve,* the lady given to my charge, A beautiful flower.— During dinner Wa[r]d (Sam^l) came to the door & informed Gwin that "Douglas was withdrawn & Guthrie had 196 votes". Gwin announced it to the table, Breckenridge turned *pale* & I could almost hear Mrs B' heart beat.— The announcement did not please Gov Hammond, Gov Brown[,] & Boyce.— After dinner Gwin & I went to Ward^s house, who said

he had got his information from the "White House." Ward then went for Jefferson Davis, and G[win,] D[avis,] & my self went to see Mr Buchanan. The President "was in" & when the irish boy "Edward" reiterated the news, said he also "Be Jasus[,] would-nt any one of the old Cabinet make a great President"[.] The allusion was to Col Davis a member of Mr Pierce[s] cabinet when Edward was then[128] Messenger. The "Col" smiled at the compliment. President B. had received no such dispatch=countenances of D[avis] & G[win] fell=didnt believe it & off we started for Gov Cobb[s]. Cobb not at home & Mrs C. had heard no such news. Then we went to Senators Hunter & Mason. Hunter & Cobb out but Mason was in.— Mason heard the news, seemed glad of Douglas[s] defeat but not pleased at the idea of having Guthrie for President. By & by Hunter & Cobb came & said "Douglas 150½ & Guthrie 68, adjourned until tomorrow".—[129] A perfect damper & Gwin retires with "dam the luck, I've made a pretty fist of it to day, sure. ."—

May 4/60

Had an interview with Douglas to day, who was under the influence of lioquor[130] [sic]. Found him very angry at my speech of 16 April in the Senate. His eye flashed fire when he spoke of his enemies & called them "blood Hounds after his life &c ".— Said "this controversy has but commenced &c". I told him there was "too much fire in his eye, for a great man & he showed too much passion, to keep cool, it would all come right."— He said I would *feel,* when they got after me." I told him "I had had them after me, but *they* could-nt bite so long, as I preserved by *own temper*".— He said "my speech was quoted every where against him & he would-nt read it for fear he might get angry at me". I begged of him to *read it* & he would then be *undeceived* & it was not regarded by his true friends as *an attack*". We parted.— He promised to read it.— Dined with Alvord & Camp this day.—

May 5/60—

Sam Ward, Benham, Sam Brannan[,] & Gould dined with me to day.— Breckenridge, Yale, Benham[,] & self on a "little bender"— ride in the country & nice lunch at 3 P.M. at[131] Yale[s] House with Gov Magoffin of Ky [—] present[:] Governor Senator Powell, Johnson of Arkansas[,] delegate to Charleston[,] & Gilmer[,] ex M. C. of P[a][,] do to Charleston. Found out that Kentucky really wanted Breckenridge & voted for Guthrie as a ruse from *no love.*— P[a] wants Breckenridge *also.* Called on Senator Wigfall of Texas & Gen' Scott.—

May 6. ad 1860.[132]

To day I dined with one of the most interesting dinner parties ever assembled. The dinner was given by Sam[l]. Ward Esq to Lieut Gen[l]. Winfield Scott : Gov Crittenden, U. S. Senator from Ky: D[r] Gwin, U. S. Senator from Cal[a] ; M[r]. Browne[,] Editor of the Constitution : John Van Buren, son of Ex Presd[t]. Van B. [:] and myself constituted the party. The dinner itself was gotten up in the most exquisite style and the wines were pronounced by Gen[l]. Scott & Crittenden as very rare and exquisite in taste : one drink which struck me as very peculiar was milk punch, refined, *a year old,* and in color very much

like rich Hock wine — there was also a bottle of Rhenish wine which M^r. Ward had brought in his trunk from Germany, which for aroma and delicacy of taste seemed to me to be incompariable [sic] — Also, a pyramid of Candies representing the different Battles in which Gen^l. Scott had been engaged, surmounted by the Goddess of Liberty with the American Flag in her right hand and in her left the scales of Justice.

The conversation between Gen^l. Scott and Senator Crittenden was most charming, it being a revival of scenes and incidents which occur[r]ed in the Early portion of this Centuary [sic] —

Among the many things said, the following made a very deep impression upon my mind—

Senator Crittenden referred to Gen^l. Jacksons first appearance in Washington after the Florida War, when his name began to be spoken of for the Presidency; this was in 1819. shortly after Senator Crittendens Election to the Senate.

Gen^l. Jackson had executed Arbuthnot and [Ambrister] and M' Clay determined to introduce a resolution censuring him, Jackson, for the Execution: M' Crittenden Stated that he differed with M' Clay as to the policy of introducing such a resolution as he thought the People would sustain Jackson which caused M^r. Clay to say "this may be true now,[133] but in the End my opinion will be the opinion of the Country" — Gen^l. Jackson having frolicked in Washington was in Balt^o. enjoying the hospitality of his friends and admirers, when he received news of this discussion upon his conduct, in the Senate — he was dining at the time and after dinner took a carriage and traveled all night to reach Washington before the Senate met the next morning. About 12. M. while the Senate was in Session[,] M^r. Crittenden was notified that Gen^l. Jackson wished to see him at his room; upon going, M^r. C. found the General sitting in an arm chair[,] his face flushed and red with excess of drinking and fatigue and his manner of the most excited character—

Across his knees was lying an old sword[,] the scabbard indented and which M' C. thought had evidently been the one which he had used during the Florida War. The General Stated, to M^r. C, that he wished him to present a protest to the Senate against the Resolution of M' Clay— M^r. C, told the General in as mild a manner as he could that the Senate was a very proud body and would show no consideration to him if he treated them with disrespect. "Far be it from me, said the Gen^l., to treat that distinguished body with anything but the most profound consideration" and immediately turning he called upon Capt ——— to read the Protest. M^r. Crittenden says — "that he never heard in his life such a fi[e]ry document and it would have fallen into the Senate like a bom[b]-shell and have placed me, a young Senator, in the most awk[w]ard and disagreeable position" and I at once took the liberty of advising the General to let his Conduct be vindicated by the People, who would be sure to fight his battles much better than he could himself : that I was satisfied the People were with him— This attracted the Generals attention at once and his manner was perceptibly changed and he replied— "By the Eternal, I'll do it"—

At the Conclusion of this anecdote Gen[l]. Scott at once said—"yes, but I got the Gen[l]. out of a very disagreeable difficulty connected with this matter, for he threatened to cut the ears off of Senator Eppes of Va. who had denounced the Generals action for the hanging of A[r]buthnot: and one night just as the Senate was about to adjourn[,] Gen[l]. Jackson, surrounded by some of his friends the most desperate of men, was in front of the Senate Chamber waiting for Eppes to come out to make the attack— Commander Decatur and myself succeeded in getting Jackson into Decaturs carriage & took him home.

This, reminded D[r]. Gwin of an anecdote regarding the election of Gen[l]. Jackson to the U. S. Senate from the State of Tennessee. There was an old man, who was a member of the Tennessee Legislature, who would not vote for the Democratic nominee, but was pledged to go for the Whigs— over this man, it was known, Gen[l]. Jackson had unbounded influence because he had served under him during the Wars. They concluded, they would send for Gen[l]. Jackson, and the General came— In the mean time the Whigs heard of Jacksons arrival, and put a guard round the old man to keep him from seeing Jackson, 'though the old fellow said he loved his General but could not vote for him— Gen[l]. Jackson seeing the state of affairs an[n]ounced himself as a Candidate. The guard kept round the old man, until the day before the Election, when[,] falling asleep[,] the old fellow got up and slipped on his cloths [sic], before the break of day and made a call upon the General—

It was the habit of Jackson to rise very early and he was smoking his pipe—as the member came in, he arose and said my dear old friend, the hero of such a battle—in Alabama—come to my arms—I knew you would come to see your General —" The old man said he had "come there to tell you I could not vote for you" bursting into tears—but he returned *and voted for Jackson!!*

Senator Gwin stated that Gen[l] Jackson had a peculiar way of shaking hands —he left you under the impression that he was your devoted friend simply by his manner. Gen[l] Scott, told an anecdote of Gen[l]. Harney: he Said that they had taken a number of deserters from the American Army—mostly Irish—and the peculiarity of the Irish soldier was that he never would turn his back upon an enemy and would desert whenever he had a chance—Some forty six of these men had been hung: but there were three Americans left—one from Maryland —one from New York[,] and one from Massachusetts—Gen[l] Harney had charge of these fellow[s], and had erected a gallows for them—and had them standing upon it while the attack was being made upon the Castle of Chepaltepec[184] in the distance—Harney told these men "you see yonder the Mexican flag—Gen Scott says that must come down and if Scott says so it will be done—and you sons of —— will swing just as you see the flag of your Country unfurled." Harney kept talking sweet [?] things while the attack was going on, and about 12. M[,] the Mexican flag came down, and the Stars and Stripes went up—Harny's [sic] order was "let those chaps swing into hell" * * and the ropes were cut.

NOTES TO THE JOURNAL OF MILTON S. LATHAM

1. The Sacramento correspondent of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco) prefaced his article on the probable candidates for the senatorship and the legislative offices with "The excitement is very great, and noise and confusion are so prevalent, that I find myself unable to determine who are entered for the official stakes and who are simply shouting for the nags that are doing the running." *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 3, 1860.

2. James W. Denver had been elected as an anti-Broderick Democrat to the Thirty-fourth Congress (1855-1857). He was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1857 and served, with one break, until March 1859. In December 1857 he was appointed secretary of the territory of Kansas and in May, 1858, governor. He resigned as governor in October.

3. Weller served in Congress from 1839 to 1845 as a Democrat from Ohio. He saw service in the Mexican War, retiring as a colonel. He moved to California and was elected to the United States Senate, serving from March 17, 1852, to March 3, 1857. He was governor of California for the term 1858 and 1859. From November 7, 1860, to May 14, 1861, Weller was United States Minister to Mexico.

4. Arriving in San Francisco in 1854, Joseph G. Baldwin practiced law. He served as an associate justice of the California Supreme Court from 1858 to 1862.

5. Samuel W. Inge served in the House of Representatives from 1847 to 1851 as a representative of Alabama. He was appointed by President Pierce in 1853 as United States Attorney for the Northern District of California, which office he filled until 1857.

6. Benjamin F. Washington was then serving as collector of the port of San Francisco, having been appointed to that position in 1857 by President Buchanan.

7. James A. McDougall had practiced law in Illinois before engaging in explorations of the southwestern part of the United States. He located in San Francisco and was elected first as a Democratic Congressman, and later as a Douglas anti-Lecompton Democratic Senator, serving from March 4, 1861, to March 3, 1867.

8. Senator William Gwin was the most prominent figure in California politics at this time. The leader of the southern branch of the Democracy in California, the Chivalry, as it was called, Gwin had served almost continuously as a Senator from California from 1850 to 1861. He was well known in the councils of the national Democratic party and had decided pro-southern leanings.

9. Meridian, noon.

10. Of the eighty assemblymen, the following were absent: Conness, Curtis, Johnson of Amador, Malarin, Shattuck, and Warner. Of the thirty-six senators, the following were absent: O'Farrell, Phelps, Redman, and Vance.

11. The Senate transacted no business, but in the Assembly the speaker was elected. The writer of the diary (on page 3) states that the speaker of the Assembly was elected on January 3. The correct date is January 2. See *Journal of the House of Assembly of California,* Eleventh Session, 1860, pp. 6-8.

12. This interest is reflected in the newspapers. An article in the *Sacramento Daily Union* for January 5, 1860, said, "The Senatorial contest is gaining in interest. . . . The friends of the two leading candidates profess to be confident, and we presume are. . . . It seems to be understood that the Gwin and Weller interests are operating together against those of Latham and Denver."

An editorial in the *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco) for January 5, 1860, said, "The Senatorial struggle has fairly commenced, and, we presume, no business of importance will be transacted by the Legislature until the contest is over."

13. Instead of a hyphen being used to mark a break in a word, it seems to have been customary in this journal to use the mark =. No notice has been given this peculiarity hereafter.

14. See note 11.

15. These two men were probably rivals in the Democratic caucus held the night before, but in the Senate election Quinn received 27 votes, Phelps 1, and Dickinson 1. Dickinson was not placed in nomination but Quinn cast his vote for him. *Journal of the Senate of the State of California,* Eleventh Session, 1860, pp. 6-7.

16. Palmer had been secretary of the Senate during the previous session. The Sacramento correspondent in the January 3, 1860, edition of the *Daily Eve. Bull.* stated that Palmer's rival for the Democratic caucus nomination was Joseph Beard and that the latter's popularity would probably secure him the post. Beard did secure the caucus vote. *Daily Eve. Bull.* Jan. 4, 1860. He was elected by the Senate. *Senate Journal,* 11th Sess., p. 8.

17. Stevenson of Colusa.

18. A letter to the editor, written from Sacramento and dated January 3, 1860, declared that the Denver party had been very anxious to elect Stevenson but after three days of hard work had decided to give it up and not oppose Moore. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 5, 1860.

19. The Sacramento correspondent in his letter dated January 5 stated that the "call

for a caucus to be held tonight has been signed by Speaker Moore, and probably the whole number of Senators and members on the Administration side." *Daily Eve. Bull.*, Jan. 6, 1860.

20. Thomas Laspeyre.

21. In the January 6, 1860, edition of the *Daily Eve. Bull.*, a news item declared that the caucus had ended after the eighth ballot at ten o'clock. But the letter of the Sacramento correspondent published in the *Daily Eve. Bull.* of January 7, 1860, declared that the caucus had adjourned at 9:30 after the seventh ballot.

The Sacramento correspondent of the *Daily Alta* in the January 7, 1860, edition wrote that the caucus adjourned after eight trials.

In a complete report of the caucus the *Sacramento Union* of January 6, 1860, stated that the caucus adjourned after the seventh ballot at 9:45 P.M. The proceedings as reported correspond with the journal account.

22. This word is illegible in the MS. It might be "supp," an abbrevation for supporters.

23. The following day, January 7, 1860, Governor Weller sent a message to both houses of the Legislature stating that "on Monday next, at eleven o'clock, A.M." his annual message would be transmitted. It was received as promised. *Senate Journal*, 11th Sess., pp. 27, 36-101; *Journal of Assembly*, 11th Sess., pp. 37, 40-105.

24. The *Sacramento Union* of January 5, 1860, expressed its opinion that Weller was afraid to send in his annual message until the senatorial election was settled. If this were so, the paper declared, the delay would harm him.

The Sacramento correspondent of the *Bulletin* thought there was no need for adverse criticism of the delay. On the contrary he thought that Weller should be praised for not sending in a hasty and imperfect message. He wrote, "[Governor Weller] has employed every leisure moment, since the procurement of the necessary information and statistics from the several departments of the State Government, in the preparation of the document. It was not completed yesterday morning [January 7], although the Governor was then writing the last pages of it." *Daily Eve. Bull.*, Jan. 9, 1860.

25. After three ballots had been taken, a fight occurred between Stevenson, a Denver man, and Johnson of Amador, a Weller man. In the confusion following, adjournment was moved to the following Tuesday. *Daily Eve. Bull.*, Jan. 9, 1860.

The vote on adjournment was 54 to 41, with the supporters of Weller voting no. *Daily Alta*, Jan. 7, 1860.

26. A telegraphic communication to the *Daily Eve. Bull.* of January 7, 1860, reflects this difficulty. It stated, "It is well understood that Latham is under no obligation to follow Denver to defeat, but the difficulty is in transferring his vote positively to anybody else,"

27. Latham was elected governor of California in the 1859 election with a clear majority over his two rivals, John Curry, a Broderick man with Republican leanings, and Leland Stanford, a Republican. Latham was supported by the southern branch of the Democratic party, called at this time Lecomptonites because of their support of the pro-slavery faction in Kansas. In his speech of acceptance, Latham indorsed "the Democratic principles," but added that "above all things I stand by the Union." Quoted in George Tinkham, *California Men and Events* (Stockton, 1915), p. 169.

But the Sacramento correspondent quotes Latham as saying: "I will only therefore, state the platform on which I stand, that I am in favor of popular sovereignty as laid down in the compromise measures of 1854. I am in favor of non-intervention. I stand by the Cincinnati platform. I stand by the Administration of James Buchanan. And above all these I stand by the unity and integrity of the Democratic party as I value the peace, the happiness and the prosperity of our common country." *Daily Alta*, June 25, 1859.

28. Presumably I. J. Haliday of Sierra is meant here.

29. Latham had been a prominent candidate for the Senate in the legislative election of 1857, but the agreement reached by Gwin and Broderick ended whatever chances Latham had at that time. The election now was to fill the term left vacant by the death of Broderick.

30. The oath of office was administered to Milton S. Latham, as Governor, and to J. G. Downey, as Lieutenant-Governor, by Chief Justice Field in Joint Convention of the Legislature in the Assembly Chamber. Immediately afterwards the Convention adjourned to the Agricultural Hall where Governor Latham delivered his address. The new governor desired no general law of the state to be interfered with by amendment unless absolute necessity demanded a change. He then pointed out that a "morbid desire to experiment" had given rise to a state debt of $3,885,000, and emphasized the need for economy. On two of the burning political questions of the day Latham declared his views. He favored state management of the San Quentin prison but he was unable to reach a conclusion as to the bulkheading of the San Francisco waterfront. This question, he thought, might be settled by a board of scientific men. At any rate, the state legislature should hesitate to legislate on such a controversial topic. *Journal of Assembly*, 11th Sess., pp. 106-114.

31. The following day, however, a telegraphic dispatch appeared in the *Daily Eve. Bull.* to the effect that the struggle was desperate, Weller was beaten evidently, and that there were decided indications of a general stampede from both Weller and Denver, "but in what direction it is unsafe to say." There were startling rumors current which could not be telegraphed because both sides were trying to mislead and prevent disclosure of their respective plans. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 10, 1860.

In his letter of the same day, the Sacramento correspondent declared that Latham was looked upon by the anti-Wellerites as the only man able to win and thus prevent the nomination of Weller and the re-election of Gwin the next winter. He concluded that Latham would probably receive the caucus vote. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 11, 1860.

Neither the *Sacramento Union* nor the *Daily Alta* was aware of Latham's coming nomination. The *Sacramento Union* of January 9, 1860, thought that Weller's chances looked good to an outsider. However, it added, "Those who profess to know what they are talking about assert confidently that he will lose Tuesday night at least twelve of the forty-two votes cast for him, as they will be cast for Inge."

The Sacramento correspondent of the *Alta* wrote on January 9, "No new phases in the Senatorial controversy. A rumor to the effect that the Denver men desparing [sic] of the success of their candidate, will unite with the opponents of Weller, to secure the election of Inge, needs confirmation. The Wellerites say nothing can now prevent the election of the retiring governor." *Daily Alta,* Jan. 10, 1860.

32. In the MS. the words "and Smith of Sutter" are inserted above the normal line of writing.

33. The *Sacramento Union* for January 12, 1860, makes this statement: "Fifty-six Democratic members of the Legislature appealed to [Latham] in writing to consent that his name might be put before the caucus. It was urged that upon him the opponents of the combination between Gwin and Weller could unite." The journal makes no mention of such a petition, and in addition to outlining the efforts in the canvass for Latham, totals the number of Latham's supporters at 54, not 56.

34. A telegraphic dispatch appearing in the *Daily Eve. Bull.,* January 11, 1860, said, "The Anti-Weller men played their cards yesterday with great caution and shrewdness, and although their opponents obtained, early in the day, inklings enough of what was going on, to suspect the game in contemplation, they quite failed to learn enough to enable them to meet and defaat [sic] it."

35. A. St. C. Denver.

36. In the MS. the words "Santa Clara" and "Tuol^{n}" are written above the names of the men.

37. José M. Covarrubias.

38. In the MS. the letters "S. F." are written above the name.

39. This asterisk is on the last line of the journal page and points out that the entry is continued in the left hand margin space. The second asterisk marks the beginning of the writing in the margin.

40. The names of the two men who voted for Washington precede the names of those who voted for Weller.

41. Assemblymen.

42. I. J. Haliday.

43. J. N. Makins.

44. J. Wescott.

45. The *Sacramento Union* of January 12, 1860, printed a stenographic report of the senatorial election in the joint convention. Four assemblymen (Fairchild, Kungle, Rodgers, and Watson) explained that they voted for Latham because they were Democrats and bound by the caucus result.

46. Newspaper opinion on Latham's election was varied. The *Sacramento Union* of January 11, 1860, said, "The announcement will fall with startling unexpectedness on the people of the State, and there will not be unfelt, even in the Democratic party, an active sense of wrong at this summary undoing of what sixty thousand voters at the last election recorded as their deliberate will and desire."

The next day, January 12, the editor of the *Union* declared he was sorry that the Democratic party felt it necessary to elect Latham Senator. It was a mistake for Latham to accept the senatorship for he owed it to the people and the state to serve his term as governor. However, the editor thought that if Gwin & Co. were beaten, then California would be amply compensated for the loss of her governor.

The comment of the *Bulletin* ran in a similar vein. The editor wrote, "We regret that the exigencies of political ambition—honorable as it is high—should take the new governor from so wide and promising a field of usefulness; but we find some consolation in the conviction that in his future sphere of action at Washington, he will be able to do much to advance the interests of California and the entire Pacific coast." *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 11, 1860.

The *Daily Alta* in an editorial in the January 12, 1860, edition was distinctly pleased at Latham's election. This paper described the years of service Latham had already rendered —all without taint of political trickery. It continued, "If his star still continues in the ascendant, it is but a reasonable supposition that he will reach the Presidential chair, to which the tide of political success seems to bear him." His previous successes warranted hanging out a presidential banner for him in 1864 for the *Alta* thought that "nothing less than a dissolution of the Union can prevent him from reaching the White House. . . . "

47. In the MS. the words "Santa Clara" and "Tuol[n]" are written above the names of the men.

48. In the MS. the constituency is written above the name.

49. The asterisks were explained in note 39.

50. J. L. Halsted.

51. Thomas M. Swan.

52. Although the journal makes no mention of it, Gov. Latham on January 12, 1860, sent to the Senate and Assembly a copy of his letter to President Buchanan notifying him of the affirmative action of the six southern counties (San Luis Obispo, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and a part of a new county, Buena Vista) in the matter of the separation of these counties from the rest of the state. The state legislature in the 1859 session had passed an act authorizing the counties to decide by a two-thirds vote if they wished to withdraw from California. This the counties had done, and Latham was informing Buchanan of their affirmative action. In a statement Latham supported the constitutionality of such a procedure. *Senate Journal,* 11th Sess., pp. 126-133.

53. John B. Shaffer.

54. George W. Ryder.

55. Thomas Shockley.

56. The four nominations were dated, sent, and confirmed on January 13, 1860. *Senate Journal,* 11th Sess., pp. 141-142, 147.

57. This message, dated January 11, 1860, was received by the two houses of the California Legislature on January 13. *Senate Journal,* 11th Sess., pp. 142-143; *Journal of Assembly,* 11th Sess., pp. 135-136.

A telegraphic dispatch to the *Bulletin* on January 12 stated that Gov. Latham was to send his resignation to the legislature on that day but that the message arrived just after adjournment. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 12, 1860.

58. This message was dated January 13, 1860, but it was not received by the Assembly until the next day. *Journal of Assembly,* 11th Sess., p. 154.

59. No message was sent. *Senate Journal,* 11th Sess., pp. 141-148, 857.

The Sacramento correspondent of the *Bulletin* wrote, "Gov. Latham's appointments of Pilot Commissioners are universally commended. Surprise is expressed that persons of extensive business and ample means, as some of them are, could be induced to accept positions of so much labor and responsibility." *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 16, 1860.

60. Commission.

61. On January 10, 1860, Gov. Latham sent a message to the Senate and Assembly announcing his private secretary to be George Wallace and declaring "All communications from this department will be presented to your Honorable Body through him." *Senate Journal,* 11th Sess., p. 114; *Assembly Journal,* 11th Sess., p. 114.

Wallace continued as Governor Downey's secretary. *Daily Alta,* Feb. 4, 1860.

62. The entries in the journal from January 1 to January 14 inclusive have been in the handwriting of George Wallace. The entries from January 29 to and including March 23 are in another handwriting. Who kept this part of the journal is not known.

63. There was a struggle in the California state convention between the followers of Latham, and Weller and his supporters. It was believed that Latham had left a power of attorney in the hands of an anti-Weller friend to be used if necessary. Latham was not a candidate but seven of the eight men chosen were from his party. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Feb. 29, and March 2, 3, 1860.

64. Presumably the San Francisco *National.*

65. In his letter, the Sacramento correspondent wrote, "The reception of Mr. Latham's election as Senator throughout the State, must be inexpressibly gratifying to him. . . . The wave of general applause has borne him above the claims of party, and made him a representative of his country." *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 23, 1860.

66. Mrs. Latham did not accompany her husband because of the unsatisfactory condition of her health. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Jan. 12, 1860.

67. The *Sacramento Union* for February 2, 1860, reported Latham's departure as follows: "Senator Latham left for San Francisco yesterday. An attempt was made by some of his enthusiastic admirers to 'get up' three cheers on his departure, but the response was very feeble."

[67a] This word is crossed out in the original.

68. Presumably J. K. S. Latham who was listed in the *San Francisco Directory* of June 1859 as a teller in the banking department of Wells, Fargo and Company.

69. In telling of the departure of the *Sonora* for Panama, an article in the *Daily Eve. Bull.* for February 6, 1860, said, "Senator Latham was passenger on the *Sonora,* and a large number of members of the Legislature and troops of friends, were on the wharf to bid him good bye. The Citizen's Band played lively music in his honor."

70. No passenger list was printed but those mentioned as aboard the Sonora were: Colonel Wilson, superintendent of the Sacramento Valley Railroad, Gregory Yale, and General Totten. *Daily Alta,* Feb. 4, 7, 9, 1860.

71. In the MS. the "9" is written over an "8."

72. The name might be Banlett.

73. The Panama correspondent of the *Bulletin* wrote that the *Sonora* arrived at Panama at 5 P.M. February 18, but that the passengers were unable to disembark until midnight on account of the tide. Two of the passengers were Mr. Latham and General Totten. He reported the sailing of the *Baltic* from Aspinwall on the 19th of February at 6 A.M. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* March 15, 1860. The New York correspondent reported that the *Baltic* arrived early on the 26th. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* March 24, 1860.

74. John C. Burch had served in both the Assembly and the Senate of California and had been elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1859–March 3, 1861) as a Lecompton Democrat.

74a. Theodore D. Judah, the father of the Central Pacific Railroad, (See Wheat, Carl I., "Sketch of the Life of Theodore D. Judah," this *Quarterly,* Vol. IV, No. 3, September, 1925.)

75. T. D. Judah, P. B. Reading, S. J. Hensley, and J. Murphy are among the names of Californians listed by the Washington correspondent in his letter of February 19, 1860, as being at the capital. Latham was met in New York by friends who went from Washington. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* March 14, 28, 1860.

76. An "occasional correspondent" in a letter dated March 19, 1860, reported this dinner to the *Union.* He wrote, "A number of Californians went over to New York to receive and accompany [Latham] to Washington. A dinner was given Latham at the Metropolitan Hotel by a number of California friends, which passed off very pleasantly." *Sacramento Union,* April 16, 1860.

77. Both of these words are difficult to read in the MS.

78. The Washington correspondent of the *Union* in a letter of February 10, 1860, wrote, "The news of the election of Milton S. Latham to the United States Senate, has caused much political gossip in this city, and was received with the greatest surprise everywhere. . . . At the Capitol, in the hotels, and even at the President's levee in the evening of Tuesday, nothing of a political nature (in the present lull) was talked of but the California Senatorial election. . . . Except in certain quarters, the election of Latham is received with much satisfaction by all political parties, and his appearance in the Senate will be quite an event." *Sacramento Union,* March 8, 1860.

79. In discussing the selection of delegates to the Democratic national convention, the Sacramento correspondent of the *Bulletin* wrote, "I have not met any one of late who doubts that Senator Latham is the head and chief of the Douglas organization, within that of the party in this State — although as a true party man, he would undoubtedly obey instructions." *Daily Eve. Bull.,* Feb. 22, 1860.

80. "What a delicious volume that famous man of the world, Sam Ward, who is every body's friend, from black John who drives his hack to the jolly Senator who eats his dinners and drinks his wine . . . what a jewel of a book he could make of the good things he has heard at his thousand 'noctes ambrosianae'!" John W. Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men* (New York, 1873), p. 394.

81. Henry P. Haun had been appointed by Gov. Weller to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Broderick. He served from December 5, 1859, to March 5, 1860.

82. An "occasional correspondent" writing to the *Union* on March 19, 1860, stated that Gwin and Latham had not spoken for years but that "A reconciliation was brought about between the Senators by Buchanan, at whose instance Gwin made the advances necessary for a reconciliation, which were accepted by Latham, and the result cannot but prove beneficial to California, at least so far as legislation in Congress is concerned. . . ." *Sacramento Union,* April 16, 1860.

83. Senators Bright and Fitch were from Indiana.

84. John R. Thomson.

85. Presumably Charles L. Scott, a representative from California from 1857-1861 (Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses).

86. In the MS. "& wife" is written in above the line of writing.

87. Miss Harriet Lane, a niece of President Buchanan.

88. Baron de Stoeckl.

89. In the MS. the "w" has been inserted above the "o" and the "l."

90. The speech was made in support of a bill referring the claim of A. W. McPherson (who had furnished the rooms used by the circuit and district courts of the United States in San Francisco) to the Secretary of the Interior for adjustment and settlement. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 sess., 1331.

91. Evidently Robert Ould who was the district attorney for the District of Columbia. *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the service of the United States on the thirtieth September, 1859* (Washington, 1859), p. 169.

92. Because of the writing and the fullness of detail, it is thought that Senator Latham himself made the entries in the journal from March 24, 1860, to and including April 26, 1860, and for May 6, 1860.

93. The Washington correspondent of the *Bulletin* wrote on March 30 that J. D. Fry, special mail agent for the Pacific Coast, would soon leave New York for California, having resigned his office. The correspondent did not know whether Mr. McGruder, mentioned to the President as a successor, would have the support of the new Senator, Latham. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* April 16, 1860.

94. Joseph Lane retired as a brevet major-general at the end of the Mexican war. He served as governor of the Oregon territory under appointment of President Polk. He represented the Oregon territory as a delegate to Congress from 1851 to 1859. He was elected to the Senate and served from February 14, 1859, to March 3, 1861. On the Breckinridge Democratic ticket of 1860, Lane was the candidate for vice-president.

95. R. M. T. Hunter served in the Senate from March 4, 1847, until March 28, 1861, when he withdrew after the secession of Virginia. At the Democratic national convention at Charleston in 1860 Hunter received 42 votes on the first ballot, and dropped to 16 votes. Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897* (Boston and New York, 1928), p. 284.

96. Throughout, this writer (believed to be Latham) spells Douglas as "Douglass."

97. The Washington correspondent of the *Union* in a letter dated March 19, 1860, referred to the news of the success of the Latham forces in the California Democratic convention and wrote, "The friends of Douglas claim the victory for Latham as a great triumph, and have marked down the delegations for him at Charleston. The new Senator is exceedingly popular." As late as April 19, the St. Louis correspondent for the same paper remarked that Latham was said to be not unfriendly to the nomination of Douglas. *Sacramento Union,* April 16, 30, 1860.

The Washington correspondent of the *Alta* thought otherwise. He wrote on March 19, 1860, "While Senator Latham professes to be anti-Douglas, he declares his intention to go for the man that defeats the Opposition, regardless of individual preference. Such, he says, is the position of California." *Daily Alta,* April 13, 1860.

98. Abbreviation for madam.

99. Mlle. Adeline Patti was in Washington and a news article in the Washington *Daily National Intelligencer* declared that all were glad to have an opportunity of "enjoying the wonderful powers of this youthful yet most finished and celebrated artist." *Daily Nat. Intell.,* March 26, 1860.

100. The word "had" is inserted above the line in the MS.

101. The word "it" is written above the line of writing in the MS.

102. Baron Rothschild.

103. Presumably Samuel S. Cox, a representative from Ohio.

104. William H. English of Indiana introduced in 1858 a bill in the House providing that the entire Lecompton constitution (which was pro-slavery) should be resubmitted to the people of the Kansas territory. It was further provided that if the people accepted the constitution, Kansas should be promptly admitted as a state, but if the Lecompton constitution were rejected, the territory was to wait until it had a population equal to the ratio required for a representative. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1896), II, p. 299.

105. Robert J. Walker, governor of the Kansas territory in 1857.

106. Latham's amendment authorized the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War to convey free of charge material for the construction of the telegraph line whenever it could be done without inconvenience or additional cost to the government service. The amendment was rejected. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 sess., 1344.

107. Samuel J. Hensley had delivered cattle to the value of $96,375 to the agents of the United States in California for the use of the Indians. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 sess., 1277, 1524.

108. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of Robert H. Morris, late postmaster of the City of New York. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1524.

109. Latham offered this amendment and made a short speech in support of it. In answer to a question whether the amendment had the support of the committee on Indian

affairs he said, "I will state that it was before the Committee on Indian Affairs, and considered by them; and I was requested to present it, but not as the act of the committee." *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1549-1550.

110. In the MS. the name Medary has been written in a different handwriting above a crossed out and apparently misspelled variation of the same name.

111. John W. Forney had been for twenty years a friend and political supporter of James Buchanan. His friendship and support then turned to dissatisfaction and distrust and his election to the office of Clerk of the House was looked upon as a Republican success and a rebuke to Buchanan.

Forney later wrote of Latham: "He was always moderate in his politics, though a Democrat; liked Douglas and Breckinridge; was a close friend of Andy Johnson, and never 'fell out,' I believe, with Hotspur Wigfall or dogmatic Toombs. He was even and genial to all; had no angular points, and made money with the ease of a fortune's favorite." Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men,* p. 315.

112. In the MS. this sentence has been inserted in another handwriting.

113. "Immediately on the report of the English bill, several anti-Lecompton members exhibited signs of hesitation. Even Mr. Douglas seemed, to some at least, to be wavering. Mr. Broderick, ever brave and true, expressed to Mr. Wade and others his apprehension that, for political reasons, the Illinois Senator might falter, but expressed his determination that, if he did, he would denounce him in the Senate and elsewhere." Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, 1874), II, p. 563.

114. In the MS. "all" is inserted.

115. The editor of the *Intelligencer* summarized Latham's speech and referred to it as "eloquent." *Daily Nat. Intell.,* April 17, 1860.

The *Bulletin's* New York correspondent wrote, "Your Senator Latham's admirable maiden speech on Tuesday, has won from [sic] its author golden opinions from all sorts of people. The *Times* of this city says that it has carried him at a bound into the front rank of Senatorial speakers." He wrote also that 100,000 copies of the speech had been ordered printed by Southern Senators. *Daily Eve. Bull.,* May 14, 1860.

The Washington correspondent for the same paper wrote that he had heard the speech and the complimentary remarks of the Senators. He thought it "a fine speech, characterized by clearness of reasoning, good taste in the use of language, and boldness in opinion, although the young Senator will be charged with trimming to suit both the Douglas and Buchanan Democracy." *Daily Eve. Bull.,* May 9, 1860.

A dispatch to the *Alta* sent by Pony Express and dated April 28, 1860, read, "Latham's speech in the Senate is considered, says the New York *Herald's* correspondent, as the most brilliant oratorical effort of the present session, and one hundred thousand copies have been ordered by the Southern States for distribution. The *Tribune's* correspondent also speaks kindly of it, but pronounces it superficial." *Daily Alta,* May 8, 1860.

116. The influence of the Dred Scott decision is very evident in Latham's exposition of this question. He said "I am willing to submit to the decisions of the Supreme Court, and to adhere, to the fullest extent, to the compromises which our fathers entered into . . ." And again, ". . . . I fully agree with the majority of my colleagues on this floor in the opinion, that if the judiciary and executive authority of the country do not possess the means to insure adequate protection to constitutional rights in the Territories of the United States, or if any territorial government should fail or refuse to provide the necessary remedies for that purpose, it will be the duty of Congress to supply that deficiency." *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1724-1729.

117. In the MS. the "r" of this word has been inserted.

118. This debate took place on April 18, 1860. The amendment allowed a citizen, or one who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen, to take up a mining claim on United States public lands without being regarded as a trespasser. Latham supported it. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1770-1778.

119. In his speech of April 16, Latham had said that if the interests of party put an end to the Union, California would set up as an independent state. He did not agree with his colleague, Gwin, who had stated a belief that in such an event California would join the South. Latham then allowed Gwin to rise and deny he had ever said that California would join the South. Instead, Gwin declared that in the event of a dissolution he thought that California would become an independent state. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1728-1729.

120. In speaking of Latham's departure for the Senate Hittell says, "No man ever left California, as its representative in Congress, with a grander idea of what he was to accomplish or a more confident belief that he could accomplish it." Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), IV, pp. 261-262.

121. Presumably Lawrence M. Keitt, a representative from South Carolina.

122. Mr. and Mrs. J. Madison Cutts. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), V, p. 401.

123. Anthony Kennedy, a senator from Maryland.

124. It is interesting to note what the Sacramento correspondent of the *Bulletin* wrote on February 28, 1860. It was, "Our idea in regard to the attitude of Gwin towards the party in this State is, that he has given up the Senatorial struggle as hopeless, and has fallen back upon his prospects for Vice Presidency; or failing in that, for the place in the Cabinet which will be assigned to this coast, in the event of a Democratic victory in the Presidential election." *Daily Eve. Bull.*, Feb. 29, 1860.

124a This word is crossed out in the original.

124b This word is crossed out in the original.

125. From April 28, 1860, to and including May 5, 1860, the journal was kept by another hand. In the MS. the "8" has been written over a "7."

126. This is written under date of April 28.

127. Vice President John C. Breckinridge.

128. The writer of the MS. crossed out the word "still" and inserted "then."

129. A telegraphic report dated May 2, 1860, and published in the next morning's paper, said that the Charleston convention had reassembled at 5 P.M. and resumed balloting. No decision having been reached at 7:45 P.M., the convention adjourned after the 57th ballot. The figures were not given but were "nearly similar" to those on the 38th ballot: Douglas 151½, Guthrie 66, Lane 12½, Hunter 16, Johnson 1½, Dickinson 5½, Davis 1½. *Daily Nat. Intell.*, May 3, 1860.

130. Douglas "was convivial beyond even the custom of the day." *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, p. 401.

131. In the MS. the word "with" is crossed out and "at" inserted above it.

132. It is believed that Senator Latham wrote the entry for this day.

133. In the MS. the "now" is inserted.

134. The Castle of Chapultepec.

THE FIRST MENTION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY

In commemoration of the Bicentennial of the birth of George Washington the following letter of Pedro Fages, Governor of California, to the Comandante, Lieutenant José Dario Arguello, of the San Francisco Presidio, which contains the first reference in California documents to the United States, is here reproduced.[1]

"(Confidential)

"We expect that there will arrive at the Port of San Francisco a vessel named 'Columbia,' said to belong to General Washington of the American States, and which under the command of John Kendrick sailed from Boston September 1787 with the design of making discoveries and inspecting the establishments which the Russians have on the northern coasts of this Peninsula; you will take measures to secure this vessel and all the people on board, with discretion, tact, cleverness, and caution, doing the same with a small craft which she has with her as tender, and with every other suspicious foreign vessel, giving me prompt notice in such case in order that I may take such action as shall be expedient.

"God preserve your life many years.

"Santa Barbara, May 13, 1789.

PEDRO FAGES,
Governor of California."

[Rubric.]

Captain Kendrick sailed the *Columbia* to Nootka Sound without stopping at a California port, and there transferred his flag to his other vessel, the *Lady Washington,* and sent the *Columbia,* in command of Robert Gray, to China with their fur catches. Thence Captain Gray, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, sailed for Boston. This was the first circumnavigation of the globe by a ship under the American flag. Gray sailed again from Boston, September 28, 1790. It was on this voyage that he discovered the Columbia River to which he gave the name of his ship.[2] Gray carried with him a personal letter from George Washington, a copy of which follows:[3]

"To all Emperors, Kings, Sovereign Princes, States and Regents, to their respective officers, civil and military, and to all others whom it may concern: I, George Washington, President of the United States of America, do make known that Robert Gray, Captain of a ship called the Columbia of the burthen of about 230 tons, is a citizen of the United States and that the said ship which he commands, belongs to citizens of the United States and as I wish that said Robert Gray may prosper, I do request all the beforementioned and each of them separately, when the said Robert Gray shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they will be pleased to receive him with kindness and treat him in a becoming manner and therefore I shall consider myself obliged. September 16, 1790, New York City.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President
THOMAS JEFFERSON, Secretary of State

Great Seal of
The United States.

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[1] A copy of the above exists in State Papers, Vol. I, Missions and Colonization, pp. 53-54, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[2] United States Public Documents, Serial No. 351, House of Representatives Documents 101 is authority for the statement that Gray entered the river at 8 A.M., May 11, 1792.

[3] Quoted by Fred Lockley in *History of the Columbia River Valley,* Chicago, 1928.

HAWES & CO.'S SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK EXPRESS

For us of today, for whom travel has been so simplified, it is hard to realize the difficulties of eighty years ago and particularly those of a journey to California.

There were six routes by which to reach the new-found El Dorado, so remote in its far-distant site in the unkown foothills of the Sierra Nevada, overlooking the great valleys of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin, and we of today are far too prone to forget the perils and difficulties that the early pioneers were forced to overcome. We glide to and from New York in swiftly moving Pullmans in three and one-half days' time. Or now we even go in an airplane in a little over one day. But they consumed months where we consume days. The routes were:

1. By sailing vessel around the Horn, a voyage beset with perils and consuming four to six months.

2. Across the plains by way of South Pass, to Fort Hall, where the trails to California and Oregon branched, usually taking four to six months, with perils from Indians, starvation, and the deep snows of the Sierra.

3. By the Santa Fé Trail and Gila River, across deserts even more perilous, following the route of Cooke's Mormon battalion, and a part of Anza's trail.

4. Across Texas and Mexico to Mazatlan, where there was much difficulty in securing passage up the coast by steam or sail.

5. By water to Central America, crossing the Isthmus of Nicaragua and by steamer up the west coast.

6. By steamer from New York to Panama, across the Isthmus and by steamer up the west coast to San Francisco.

From the first, the crossing of the Isthmus of Panama had been a difficult and dangerous proceeding. The crossing was part way by canoe up the Chagres River to Gorgona, the remainder by trail, either on horseback or on foot, to Panama City. The Isthmus was extremely unhealthful; Chagres and other malarial fevers, cholera, yellow fever and all the tropical diseases, so fatal particularly to those from colder climes, were prevalent at all times and often epidemic. The rainy season rendered the mule trail almost impassable. And the stopping places were of the crudest description with decent food impossible to procure.

For the passengers it was bad enough, but for the baggage it was even worse. It was almost impossible for the baggage to accompany the passengers. The letters of the early travelers are filled with the hardships, the almost ever-present delays, and the heavy losses in the transport of their baggage to say nothing of the heavy expense. Irresponsible Indians as carriers and over-worked mules were employed in this work; and the pioneers' letters are filled with their complaints and tribulations. Many a traveler laments that he was compelled to miss his steamer and wait in plague-stricken Panama two weeks or even a month, on account of the failure of his baggage to arrive in time.

Isthmus Transit Tickets!

BAGGAGE AND PASSENGER

EXPRESS,

FROM PANAMA TO ASPINWALL.

—000—

J. HAWES

Is now prepared to furnish TRANSIT TICKETS from PANAMA TO ASPINWALL, (ship to ship,) covering all expense of of transport for Passengers and Baggage by mules and by RAILROAD, making, with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's Line from New York and New Orleans, the long desired *Through Ticket via Panama.*

Passenger Tickets for sale in San Francisco.

Baggage will be checked for at Panama on arrival of the Steamers from San Francisco. Freight therefor payable on payable on delivery in Aspinwall

☞Ladies and Children carefully conveyed across under charge of trusty Guides.

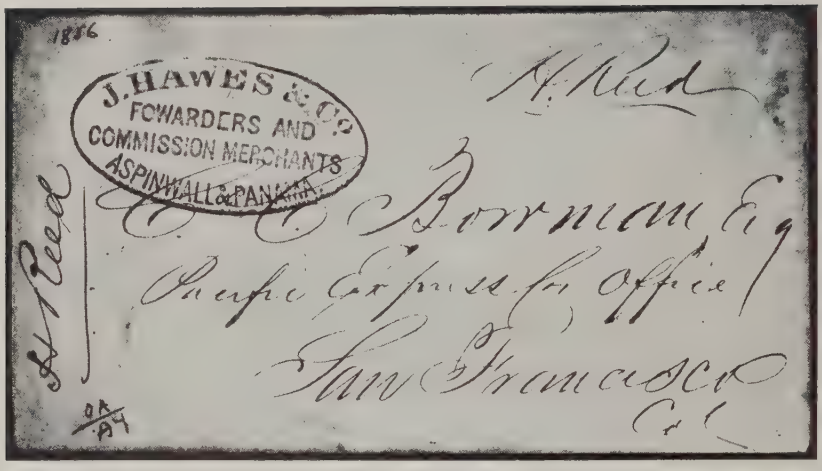
SAFETY AND SPEED! NO SICKNESS! NO RIVER TRAVEL! THIRTY-ONE MILES BY RAILROAD!

The Bridge across the Cruces River has been finished, and the Railroad is now complete as far as *Rio Obilpo*, having only only eighteen miles of Mule Travel from Panama. The mule road has been thoroughly repaired, and the entire transit from Panama to Aspinwall can now be made with ease and comfort within eight hours, it having been made in four hours and five minutes, from ocean to ocean.

The comfort of having one's self and baggage transported from ship to ship, without the necessity of personally in contact with the run of persons in the business, natives and others, and the fact of being on the Isthmus only a few hours, in place of several days, make the advantages of this route, over all others, sufficiently obvious.

For Transit Tickets apply to
J. HAWES, Agent,
P. M. S. Co.'s Building, Leidesdorff st., between Commercial and Sacramento streets, San Francisco. my20tf

Advertisement of Hawes' Express, from the *San Diego Herald*, May 20, 1854



Frank of Hawes' Express

From the collection and by the courtesy of W. Parker Lyon, of Pasadena

But the Panama railroad was eventually to obviate all this. It was slowly creeping across the Isthmus from Aspinwall, the time estimated for its construction being greatly exceeded through delays from tropical diseases which decimated the ranks of its white employees, the impediment of securing native labor, and the rainy seasons which made work difficult if not almost impossible. However, in May, 1854, the onerous enterprise was nearing completion; all was finished except the eighteen miles out of Panama, by far the least objectionable portion of the trip. At last the terrors and hazards that had driven so many travelers to the Vanderbilt and "Via Nicaragua" Lines, were about to be overcome.

The land crossing at Nicaragua was only twelve miles long on the western end, accomplished in stage coaches on a hard road from the Pacific to the Lake. Transit across the Lake and down the River to the Eastern port was made in small stern-wheel steamers and offered slight obstacles. The Nicaragua Line steamers were coordinated, the steamers to New York and New Orleans awaiting the passengers from San Francisco and the West, because the transit across Nicaragua offered no serious problems, and the baggage always accompanied the passengers. The entire trip was usually four days shorter than by Panama.

The difficulties of the Isthmus of Panama had greatly hampered the Pacific Mail Company. The erratic transport and loss of baggage over that fifty miles of jungle and river had interfered with the coordination of steamers. No one could tell when the baggage would arrive, even if the passengers succeeded in crossing. Consequently, the advertisement of Joseph Hawes' Express was truly epochal. It introduced a new era that was to absolve the passenger of all the hardships that had confronted him for the past five terrible years. The advertisement here reproduced appeared for the first time in the *San Diego Herald* of May 20, 1854, although a much abridged version had appeared in the San Francisco *Alta* of May 12.

The time had now arrived, through the completion of all but eighteen miles of railroad, when transport of both passengers and baggage across the dangerous and troublesome Isthmus of Panama could be organized and relied upon. "Hawes' and Co's San Francisco and New York Express" had solved the problem. It sold "transit tickets" for baggage in San Francisco (and in New York) across the Isthmus, delivering it aboard the steamer at Aspinwall. These, together with the steamship tickets, gave through passage for both passenger and baggage. Hawes had been quick to perceive the great advantage of such an Isthmus Transit Express and had acted accordingly.

All the terrors of the Isthmus were now of the past. It took only eight hours (at most) from ship to ship. No more barterings with irresponsible Indians, or worse, with predatory Americans, charging exorbitant prices for the transit of baggage. No more appalling delays and loss of baggage and even of life through disease. No more laborious passages, floundering over trails impassable in mud, or sitting drenched to the skin by tropical rains, in canoes, with

no accommodations on shore. And Joseph Hawes was the alert business man and public benefactor, who, in connection with the Panama Railroad now completed for all but eighteen miles, provided unbroken transit, and gave to the traveller, whether California or New York bound, secure and quick passage, with no more delays and dangers from natives, mud, rain, canoes, and what was far worse, from the deadly tropical diseases of yellow fever, cholera, small pox, malarial fever, etc.

The frank of Hawes' Express is extremely rare. At date only one copy of each of two different varieties is known. Hawes started in 1853 with "Hawes' Sacramento and San Francisco Express" from Sacramento to San Francisco. But he seems to have perceived the opportunity at Panama and extended his line down and across the Isthmus and to New York. And from the first he always transported letters from Sacramento to San Francisco, as his franks show, and then from San Francisco to New York. The New York office was at 78 Broadway.

The completion of the Panama railroad in 1855, must have ended his activities to a certain extent, as it then became merely a matter of checking baggage across the Isthmus in a railroad train from ship to ship. But we hear of him until 1857; during this later period he may have acted largely as a transfer agency, getting baggage ashore, on the train and from the other terminus to the ship again.

But however brief its career, all the more is his express company and its frank historical and noteworthy, from the fact that it gave California at last, and for the first time, easy communication with the outside world, and relief from one of the most desperate terrors of travel known, the transit of man and baggage across the Isthmus of Panama in the "Gold Rush" days of '49 and thereafter.

ERNEST A. WILTSEE.

AN IMPORTANT LETTER

Aaron Leggett to William L. Marcy, October 16, 1845

Mr. Stallo Vinton of New York City recently sent to this Society a copy of a letter from one Aaron Leggett to Governor Marcy dated October 16, 1845, dealing with the possibility of intervention by Great Britain in California. While we recognize that Mr. Leggett's statements are based entirely on rumor, it is felt that the letter is of historic interest, particularly (as Mr. Vinton suggests) in that it was dated very shortly before Lieutenant Gillespie started on his mission to California, presumably with secret instructions to Captain Montgomery and Colonel Frémont. Mr. Vinton adds, "Whether the American government acted upon this letter it is impossible to say, but the fact is that the suggested 'Ship of War' did take Monterey in the nick of time." We do not wish to be understood, however, as implying that this letter proves any plan on the part of Great Britain to take over Alta California. Mr. Leggett's letter is now in the collection of W. R. Coe, Esq., of New York City, and through his courtesy and that of Mr. Edward Eberstadt the Society has secured a photostat of it.

New York Oct. 16th/45

Gov. [William L.] Marcy.
Esteemed friend:

Genl. C. W. Sandford, with whom from boyhood I have been on the best terms & who is anxious for me in my Mexican claim, in a conversation some days since on the subject of claims on Mexico informed me that I must not hope for indemnity by a cession of the Californias to the United States — he told me that he had no doubt in two months that Upper California would be *free* and *independent of Mexico* — that the Europeans & Americans in that country had agreed together to take the country — that their leaders have already agreed with the authorities of England & France and that those two governments sanctioned the agreement & to acknowledge the independence of California *provided* they never would annex themselves to the United States — This agreement was agreed to by the leaders of this California movement and is the foundation of the whole plan. Gen. Sandford was in the country where I was visiting in Westchester County when we had this conversation and I came to this city on the same evening and communicated what I had heard to Mr. R. S. Cox & Mr. Prentis that it might be communicated to Mr. Ritchie for the Union as I thought it important for our Government to know it. I had to return to Westchester the next day where I have since been & returned here again yesterday — I see by the Union that the Govt. knew nothing of this plan of making California independent & forever to be separate from the U. S. under the protection of England or France or both of them. By the Journal of Commerce this morning it appears, and I have no doubt in contemplation of & to further this plan, that England & France has each sent a Consul to California.

Gov. Shannon, on his return from Mexico, assured me that the report was true — viz — that the Mexican Govt. had given to the English clamants a Mortgage on Upper California for twenty six millions of dollars which was made payable in 1847. This fact with the known unwillingness of England to the annexation of Texas or California to the United States will show how readily the above plan would be cherished by England.

I have called again on Gen. Sandford this morning and have requested him to write you on the subject of the plan of separating California from Mexico and of the agreement with England & France in regard thereto. He knows all about it — but, as he was first applied to by the leaders & movers of this plan to take an interest in it and to be the military head of the movement, he is restricted from giving names to me, or anything more than an outline of the plan. As I look upon this matter to be of great importance I have requested the General to write to you about it, but fearing his business may prevent him from doing so I give you this information and if you think as I do communicate it to our Govt. If you were to write to Genl. Sanford I have no doubt he would give all the informa-

tion he has on the subject which he may have supposed was already known to the Govt.

The Mexican Govt., through Genl. Tornel, Secy. at War, agreed while I was there in 1835-6 to settle my claims on Mexico by a grant of a great portion of the best part of Upper California. This agreement which I sent home to Mr. Forsyth was frustrated, and, as I believe, through English influence, which I know was then at work to get their large loans secured by grants of lands in that country. I have looked to California as the best means that Mexico had of paying our claims and I advised Mr. Forsyth in 1835 to seize upon that whole country to pay them. We must have that country, and I do hope the President will not be out generaled by the contrivances of Mr. Packinham which in some measure he perfected or set on foot before he left Mexico.

If I was the President I would order one of our Ships of War to go and take Monteray and all California & keep it as pay for what Mexico owes us. This is the right way to do — the people will sustain him in the act. Let Origon stay for a while that will all come right in good time, but California, I have known ever since I was in Mexico, was in much danger of slipping from us and going to England.

Respectfully etc.,

(Signed) Aaron Leggett

A HISTORIC DOCUMENT

A Contract for Transportation Across the Plains to California

Contracts for transportation across the plains during the so-called "Covered Wagon" period are rare, and there were probably never any great number which were in printed form giving details of the mutual obligations undertaken by the parties. One such agreement has been discovered in the possession of Mrs. S. E. Wilcoxon, of Yuba City, and is here reproduced through her courtesy. Her father, a pioneer settler of Sutter County, was the E. Butler mentioned in the contract.

On the reverse appear the following endorsements:

Received on the within Twenty five Dollars in part pay of first payment

Joseph Dana & Co.

Said Butler pays his own expenses to Council Bluffs and consents to drive team for which he will be allowed Forty five Dollars deduction from the within payments

J. Dana & Co

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT,

Between Joseph Dana & Co., and E. Butler *Witnesseth —*

Said Dana & Co. agree to take E. Butler to Council Bluffs on the Missouri River, in cabin of steamboat, and from thence will provide good strong wagons, and at least three yoke of oxen to each wagon, to go over the Plains to Sacramento City, in the State of California: and will furnish provisions for the journey, to consist of Bacon, Flour, Meal, Sea Biscuit, Hommony, Beans, Sugar, Coffee, Pepper, Salt, &c., so that each man can have at least three pounds of provisions per day. The Company will be required to select a Committee of five men from the Company before leaving Council Bluffs, to examine the quantity and quality of provisions provided, and their decision shall be conclusive as to sufficiency. Said Dana & Co. shall have the privilege to direct the train or teams in regard to stopping or starting. The teams will be required to keep together, and rest as often as one day in each week, unless otherwise directed by said Dana & Co. Any one of the Company may be expelled by a vote of the majority of the company, and in case he is expelled, shall have a proportionate quantity of provisions set off to him, and shall not again be taken into said Company without the concurrence of the whole Company. Each member, in consideration here mentioned, agree to pay said Dana & Co., one hundred and fifty dollars, as follows: One hundred dollars upon signing this contract, and fifty dollars when landed at Council Bluffs, and will furnish for themselves, a gun, ammunition, knife, and two blankets. The Company will form themselves into messes of five, and will cook for themselves, and stand sentry by turns. Each man will procure a sack for his clothes, and will be entitled to take only *twenty-five* pounds of baggage, exclusive of blankets and gun. Dana & Co, also agree to furnish one tent and cooking utensils to each mess, and such other articles as the proprietors think necessary to facilitate the journey. Any man of this Company taking his family will be provided with a light spring wagon and will be charged two hundred dollars for each one of the family and the man will perform same duties as other members of the Company. All the members of this Company will be in readiness to leave Cincinnati about the 1st of April next.

CINCINNATI, March 2 1852.

Joseph Dana } Proprietors.

REMINISCENCES OF CALIFORNIA, 1849–1852

By Berryman Bryant, M.D.*

We landed in San Francisco on the twelfth day of June, 1849, making four months and nine days from Alabama to San Francisco. We remained in San Francisco four days; then we hired a little sail boat to take us to Sacramento; we were five days going from San Francisco to Sacramento. We arrived in Sacramento on the twenty-first day of June, 1849.

There were no buildings or houses in the city of Sacramento, all tents or canvas houses. Our party, of course, was very anxious to get to the mines, so a couple of wagons and oxen were soon hired to take the boys up upon the American river, where there was plenty of gold. One of our men, hired to a man by the name of Baly to drive an ox team. Baly gave him four hundred dollars a month.

I went with the boys out to the American river and saw them do their first mining. They had their washing machines to wash out the gold. They went to work in fine spirits and soon had their buckskin sacks full of yellow dust.

. . . . . .

I remained two days and then returned to Sacramento City; I only went with the boys on a visit and to see the prospects in mining.

I left all my baggage in Sacramento City. I was one in perhaps a thousand that did not come to California with the intention of mining. I had no idea of mining and have never worked a day in the mines for when I left Alabama for California I had taken it for granted that people would get sick in this beautiful country, and I was not mistaken. Instead of bringing mining tools with me, as all the other members of my company did (in which company were four physicians besides myself) I brought five trunks well filled with choice medicine from Mobile, Alabama.

When I arrived in Sacramento after my visit with the boys, there was not a place that I could find in which I could store away my medicines, so I went

* The author of these reminiscences was born in Spartenburg County, South Carolina, in 1816. His early years were spent on his father's farm, but in November, 1838, a doctor having recommended a change of climate, he removed to Alabama, and later went to Mississippi and to Tennessee, where he hauled water to Memphis from a spring about a half mile outside the city limits, and sold it for twenty-five cents a barrel, also speculating in a small way in buying horses at auction, and later engaging in brick making. He studied medicine under a Dr. Gabbott, graduated from the Botanica Medical College of Memphis in 1847, and commenced the practice of medicine in April of that year at Natchez, Miss. In the spring of 1848 he went to Camden, Wilcox County, Alabama, where he was very successful in combating an epidemic of dysentery and soon built up a large practice.

On February 3, 1849, Doctor Bryant started for California with a company of about sixteen others from Wilcox County. In Mobile they met about forty others from Alabama on the way to California, and the two parties jointly chartered a schooner to take them across the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Rio Grande. After a stormy and adventurous passage they landed in Mexico, and the company once more divided into two parts. Bryant's party bought wagons and mules and traveled from Matamoras to Durango, where they sold the mules and wagons and hired pack mules to take them over the mountains to Mazatlan. There they shipped aboard a sailing vessel for San Francisco, where they landed after a passage of forty-two days.

outside of the city limits and dug five holes and put my trunks in them and filled them up and put a stake at each end to represent graves and left them there until I was ready to use them. In a few days I bought some town lots on L street between fourth and fifth streets and as it was impossible at that time to buy lumber to build houses I resorted to willow poles to make studding and rafters. I hired a man with a small boat and went up the Sacramento river and cut straight willows with which I made my studding and rafters putting my studding in the ground. I then bought heavy sail duck for siding and roof, had the canvas well sewed and then I put up bunks or berths all around the house and had some bed ticks made and filled them with dry grass for beds. I then unearthed my trunks of medicine and opened my hospital (this being, to the best of my knowledge, the first private hospital opened in California) and put up a sign, "Home for the sick." Very soon I had every bed or cot full of the sick. They would bring the poor fellows from the mines usually in an ox team, frequently being four or five days on the road, in the hot sun and when they got them to the hospital, if they lived to get there, I would find them very sick.

In 1849 we had a great deal of scurvy amongst the miners, owing to their mode of living. We could not get vegetables in the mines or outside. Our living was very simple as we had to do our own cooking, we could not get a variety, consequently we had for breakfast fried pork or bacon and flour stirred in water and fried in the grease of the pork or bacon and strong coffee; of course we did not think of milk. For dinner we would have boiled pork and beans. At night we would duplicate our breakfast—batter fried in grease and fried pork or bacon and strong coffee. We could not have anything else as it was almost impossible to get it. So a great many cases of scurvy of the worst kind were the result.

A few items from my day book entered in 1849—Flour $.75 a pound, fresh beef .50 a pound, molasses $6.00 a gallon, eggs $5.00 a dozen, onions .50 each, potatoes .50 a lb. butter $1.50 a lb., dried apples $1.00 a pound, Saleratus (baking soda) $6.00 a pound—horse shoeing $65.00—Plank lumber per thousand feet $3,000.00—passage from San Francisco to Sacramento city $20.00—Freight from Sacramento to mines (thirty miles) $20.00 per hundred weight.

In San Francisco a common 30x50 ft. two story frame building rented for $75,000 per year. Sacramento rents were—room twenty feet square $10,000 per year; ground rent on street 10x12 ft.—$60.00 per month.

I often paid a dollar for an egg—and the same for a pound of onions.

I commenced the practice of medicine in Sacramento City the 28th day of June 1849. I was prepared to accomodate eighteen patients and could not take care of one half of those who applied for admittance and my outside business increased so rapidly that I had to take in a partner, so I employed a young man by the name of Warfield and we both had all that we could possibly do.

My charge for patients in the hospital was fifteen dollars a day and I charged ten dollars a visit outside, I did but very little charity practice at this time as most all the men had money then; wages were good, you could not get a man to

do any kind of work for less than sixteen dollars a day. If a man died you could not get a hole dug and a rough box made for less than one hundred dollars.

I was away from the hospital a few hours, one day, and while out an ox team drove up to the door with a dying man in the wagon, they told the steward they wanted to have the doctor take charge of the sick man and do all for him that could be done, they went away but told the steward they would come back soon and see the doctor and make arrangements for the care of the sick man. When I came in I saw the man was dying, he was a nice looking young man, the party who left him never came back, I never learned a word about the young man. Next day I paid a hundred dollars to have him buried.

. . . . . .

I knew an old Dutchman in 1849 who went two miles below Sacramento City on the river and cleared off the briers and vines from about two acres of land and planted it out in watermelons and made eleven thousand dollars off of the melons that grew on that spot of ground. He would sell them as fast as he could bring them in to the city for from five to twelve dollars a piece and they cared no more for twelve dollars then for a watermelon, than they would ten cents now.

I made money very fast and on the twenty-fifth of November I sold out my hospital and medicine to a doctor by the name of Hungerford, and on the first day of December started from San Francisco to the States having, as I thought, "made my pile."

In a very short time I found I could not be contented in the States—so I very soon made up my mind to return to California by crossing the plains. . . . I bought five wagons, twenty mules, and two good saddle horses and brought twenty-four men to this country who agreed to work two years for me, I to furnish them provisions in the mines and bring them to California, charging them nothing to take them across the plains. I also brought a young wife across with me. . . .

We left St. Joseph, Missouri on the 15th day of April 1850—we had a company of forty-two men altogether, I was elected captain of the company as it was necessary to have a head or director to take a large company of men. . . .

I divided my men in messes of five to each wagon. I had a large wall tent for each wagon. I divided the provisions equally between each wagon. Each mess having five to a wagon except my wagon, I had six in mine. We were four months and three days from St. Joseph, Missouri to Sacramento City. . . .

I furnished ample provisions to have lasted us at least a month longer but my men were very wasteful so they all ran short of provisions. While I started with just the same amount in my wagon that each one of them had and I had one more in my wagon to feed than they had—and when their provisions gave out I had plenty in my wagon to last me a month yet theirs was gone and something to eat must be had. I could not buy a pound of anything to eat from the emigrants so I took two men with me and started with a couple of pack mules to find provisions. The second day after leaving the company we came to a

trading post where I could get some flour, I paid forty dollars a hundred for it. . . . We loaded up our flour and went back to meet my company and got back just in time to prevent one of my men from giving one of my fine mules for fifty pounds of flour, the mule was worth two hundred dollars. . . .

We went on then to Sacramento with no more mishaps. But then my trouble set in, I was under obligation to furnish them all the tools necessary for their use in mining and furnish their provisions and to fit out twenty-four men with plenty of tools and provisions for three to five months to start them on and to find good mining or paying claims for them to work was not only expensive but laborious and very unpleasant, still I continued to furnish them all their provisions and tools until I found it would be to my interest to discontinue my interest with them. . . . I simply let them go and never received a dollar for bringing them to California. They were willing to perform their contract, yet they did not seem successful, and to look after them I was so tied up that I could do nothing else, so I said to the boys do the best you can for yourselves.

I remained in Sacramento City about two mouths and then went up the road twenty miles above Marysville on the road from Marysville to Downieville [?] and went to work and dug a well and put up a house twenty feet by forty and put up bunks all around, two tiers one above another, and opened a hotel. My business proved a success in fact very profitable.

I was crowded almost all the time. I had two good milk cows, that I brought from Salt Lake with me, they were both giving a fine lot of milk at the time and the people were so crazy for milk, at that time, they would come to my house to stay if possible. In fact I was so crowded and pressed for room that I had to use a great deal of care in providing sleeping room. Everybody carried their own blankets to sleep in. I was obliged after filling all my bunks—to see that no one used any more room than was necessary in spreading down their blankets on the floor.

My wife and myself worked very hard, we did all of our own work. With what assistance I could give her, she did the cooking. I would arise from my bed at four o'clock every morning and build a fire in the stove and commence to cut beef steaks for breakfast and my wife would commence cooking, by the time we had enough cooked to start the breakfast we would call the men. We would then be as busy as possible for three hours. . . . I also attended to feeding the horses, night and morning. My wife and I scarcely ever going to bed before twelve o'clock.

I charged a dollar for a place to sleep and from 15 cents to 25 cents a pound for barley. The most unpleasant part of anything connected with the business was selling whisky. Everybody at that time drank, and to do business on the road, at that early day in California, you had to keep whisky. I did not make money by the selling of it, I think I paid more money for my whisky than I received for it. I always made it a rule, when a person stopped over night or for a meal, to give them a dram.

I made money very fast and stayed in my canvas house over a year and then

built a good large house, two stories high. I bought the land as there was a good spring on it. It was called the Oregon camp six miles from where I built my first house. After I moved into my new house, my business greatly increased as I was able to give better accomodations and could accommodate a great many more people. I continued business in my new house for eighteen months, then I sold my house and business for nine thousand dollars.

On the ninth day of November 1852, I started for the States intending to go to Los Angeles and spend the winter, then return to Tennessee. I bought a good spring wagon and four mules and started by land to Los Angeles. I got as far as Gilroy, Santa Clara County, it began raining the day I left Marysville and by the time I arrived in Gilroy the roads were almost impassable and the ferry boat at the Pajaro river had just been washed away. It was impossible for us to go any farther at that time and the rain continued so long, it was at least three months before we could have continued on our journey.

By that time the country was looking so beautiful, we had lost all desire of going any farther.

The Gilroy valley was, at that time, the most beautiful country I had ever looked upon in all my life. The valley was as nature had formed it, no fencing done, all uncultivated, and covered thickly all over with wild oats, and by the first of June the oats were higher than a man's head, and the fattest horses and cattle that I ever saw in my life were in this beautiful country.

[Arrived at Gilroy, Dr. Bryant changed his mind about going back to "The States." Instead, he bought himself a ranch and started raising sheep. There were occasional set-backs, but Dr. Bryant was one of the most generally successful raisers of livestock and fruit in California for many years, and after living for a number of years in Gilroy, he built himself a large residence near San Jose. Through the years he continued his medical practice, and was for some years trustee of the San José State Normal School. He was also a prominent Mason and Odd Fellow, and was a leading member of the Society of California Pioneers.

Dr. Bryant died at the home of his son, Calhoun Bryant, in San Francisco on March 14, 1898. His wife, Henrietta Frances Bryant (nee Reeve) passed away on January 13, 1902.]

MILLIONS FOR A CENT!
GOLD MINES OF CALIFORNIA

NEW DETAILS*

O you who eternally chase about the big town with shoes down at the heels—who search the most obscure corners, the most unknown of its numberless houses, in order to find by hard work black bread and the thinnest soup which permits you to last until the morrow!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you pretty girls who for want of a dowry will forever be deprived of a husband!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you singers, ambulatory barkers, smugglers of contraband, windy clowns and pullers of bad teeth who pass your existence in fear of the Paris Police!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you Jews, usurers, change agents, lawyers, bailiffs, men of affairs, petty-foggers, notaries, humanity's lepers, quill-drivers male and female—all you who pass your life paddling in dirty water like ducks, spoiled by civilization, just to pile up the dollars!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you eternal solicitors, greedy and covetous under no matter what government, who die only from indigestion!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you half-witted vaudevillians who appear to write only in order to show how far human nonsense may go!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you poor husbands who can only cover the poor shoulders of your poor wives with poor cashmeres poorly made for your dozen poor francs!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you poor artists who cover your canvasses with masterpieces without being able to cover yourselves with a good woolen coat in the cold season!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you pirate journalists who drive your fellowmen to exterminate each other under color of patriotism!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you landlords despairing of receiving your rentals, abandon your shacks to the communists, "proudhonnistes," "cabetistes," "simplistes," "boulimistes," "quietists," "fourieristes," and other equilibrists!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

O you, last of all, you honest cut-purses, consummate assassins, bankrupt

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* This curious expression of the rather sarcastic view that the France of 1850 held of the Gold Rush to California is reproduced from the original broadside now in the collection of Mr. Edwin Grabhorn.

The translation by Mr. Douglas S. Watson makes no pretense to literary elegance; the sole aim being to render into English the same spirit and feeling given in the French version. THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

DES MILLIONS POUR UN SOU!

MINES D'OR DE LA CALIFORNIE

NOUVEAUX DÉTAILS.

O vous, qui traversez la grande ville avec des bottes éternellement éculées... qui fouillez les coins les plus obscurs, les plus ignorées de ses maisons innombrables, pour trouver à force de labeurs le pain noir et le maigre potage qui vous permettent d'arriver au lendemain!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, jolies filles, qui, privées de dot, seriez éternellement privées de mari!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, chanteurs, aboyeurs ambulants, escamoteurs de contrebande, baladins de plein vent et arracheurs de dents malsaines... qui passez votre existence dans la frayeur du gardien de Paris!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, juifs, usuriers, agents de change, avoués, huissiers, gens d'affaires, avocassiers, notaires, lèpres de l'humanité, fesses-matthieu mâles et femelles, vous tous qui passez votre vie à barboter en eau sale comme les canards, gâtés par la civilisation, le tout pour amasser des écus!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, éternels solliciteurs, avides et gavés sous tous les gouvernements, qui ne mourrez jamais que d'indigestion!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, vaudevillistes crétins, qui ne semblez écrire que pour montrer jusqu'où peut aller la bêtise humaine!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, pauvres maris, qui ne pouvez parer les pauvres épaules de vos pauvres femmes que de pauvres cachemires pauvrement fabriqués pour vos douze pauvres francs!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, pauvres artistes, qui couvrez vos toiles de chefs-d'œuvre sans parvenir à vous couvrir vous-mêmes, par les temps froids, d'un bon paletot de laine!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, journalistes forbans, qui poussez vos compatriotes à s'exterminer les uns les autres sous couleur de patriotisme!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, propriétaires au désespoir de ne plus recevoir vos loyers, abandonnez vos baraques aux communistes, proudhonnistes, cabétistes, simplistes, boulimistes, quiétistes, fouriéristes, et autres équilibristes!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

O vous, enfin, honnêtes coupeurs de bourses, assassins consommés, banqueroutiers émérites, que l'ingratitude des hommes envoie pourrir au bagne de Brest ou de Toulon!

En route pour les mines d'or de la Californie!

Partez!

Il n'est pas nécessaire que vous preniez de lourds bagages : une cassette et une bonne pioche vous suffiront. Ne vous laissez pas décourager par la peur d'une navigation de cinq mois... elle sera peut-être périlleuse... mais le résultat est si consolant : de l'or!... toujours de l'or!... Qu'importent la colique et les fièvres doublées d'un mal de mer brutal... de l'or!... toujours de l'or!... Qu'importe d'être noir ou jaune en mourant, du moment qu'on se repose dans un linceul d'or pour l'éternité!

Partez!

Ne regrettez pas l'asphalte et les arbustes rabougris de nos longs boulevards!

Partez!

Ne regrettez ni le musée, ni les omnibus, ni les braillards dramatiques et forains du quartier du Temple, ni l'esprit-calembour-dindon de M. Clairville et consorts, ni les ours du Jardin des Plantes... Quittez Paris, et d'ailleurs l'orang-outang est mort!

Partez!

Et ne vous arrêtez qu'au bord de la rivière *Sacramento!*

Sacramento! le Pactole d'aujourd'hui!

Ce n'est pas trois francs, quatre francs, cinq francs que vous gagnerez par jour, c'est quatre-vingts francs que vous arracherez par douze heures de travail à la terre généreuse qu'on nomme Californie!

Une fois là, ne soyez pas difficiles sur les gens que vous y trouverez... Ne vous heurtez pas du voisinage des Anglais; il faut souffrir parfois la mauvaise compagnie... Vous y verrez aussi des Chinois, des Tartares, des Baskirs, des Allemands, des Arabes, des Russes, des Espagnols, des Portugais, des Suédois, des Italiens, et surtout des Américains... Car le monde entier se met en route à cette seule pensée de déterrer de l'or.

O nobles aspirations de l'humanité!

Une fois là, ne vous amusez pas à suivre de l'œil les oiseaux revêtus d'un plumage d'azur et d'or... courbez-vous vers la terre et fouillez-la!... N'admirez pas les horizons lointains, qui laissent derrière eux les plus beaux décors de l'Opéra... courbez-vous vers la terre et fouillez-la!...

Par exemple, ne vous attendez pas à jouir de toutes les douceurs de la vie... Vous n'y trouverez ni biftecks au beurre d'anchois, ni dindes truffées; car les aliments y sont rares... Mais les racines y sont en grande abondance... Vous vivrez un peu à la manière des anachorètes pour un temps... seulement, vous déterrerez de l'or... ce qu'ils ne faisaient pas, que l'on sache...

Oubliez, en vous dirigeant sur ce point, le goût des petits pains au beurre; car on les vend quatre-vingt-dix francs la pièce, vu l'absence des pâtissiers!

Partez, afin de revenir au plus vite, car vous pourrez compter alors parmi les élus de ce monde. Vous pourrez, fussiez-vous laid comme Vulcain et de travers comme lui, trouver une Vénus pour votre moitié... Quant au désagrément qui en fut la suite, rien, pas même votre or, ne saurait vous prémunir contre ça.

Mais n'importe, le bonheur ne tient pas à si peu.

En route donc, et rapportez-nous de l'or!... de l'or!... et toujours de l'or!...

Typ. Schneider, rue d'Erfurth, 1.

emeritus, that the ingratitude of men sends to rot in the prisons of Brest and Toulon!

All aboard for the California Gold Mines!

Go!

It is not necessary to take much luggage: a cap and a good pick will suffice. Do not allow yourself to be discouraged by the fear of five months at sea. It may be perilous but the result will be consoling: GOLD—Always GOLD. What matter the colic and fevers added to brutal seasickness! GOLD—Always GOLD! What does it matter if you turn black or yellow in dying since you will rest in a shroud of GOLD for all eternity!

Go!

Have no regrets for the asphalt and the stunted trees of our long boulevards!

Go!

Have no regrets for the Museum, nor the omnibuses, nor the dramatic and outlandish bawlers of the Quartier du Temple, nor the punning, turkey-like gaiety of M. Clairville, and his consorts, nor the bears of the Jardin des Plantes, and besides the orang-outang is dead!

Go!

And don't stop until you reach the banks of the Sacramento River!

Sacramento! The Pactolus of today!

It is not merely three francs, four francs, five francs that you will earn daily; it is eighty francs that you will root by 12 hours labor from that generous land called California! Once arrived don't be too choosy about the people you'll find there. Don't throw yourself among the English: sometimes it is necessary to put up with bad company. There you'll find Chinese, Tartars, Basques, Germans, Arabs, Russians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Swedes, Italians, and above all Americans. For the whole world has started on its way with the sole thought of digging gold.

O noble aspirations of humanity!

Once there don't amuse yourself by looking at the birds clothed in blue and gold plumage. Bend down to the earth and dig! Don't admire distant horizons which far outstrip the finest scenery at the Opera. Bend down to the earth and dig!

And don't think you will enjoy there all the pleasures of life. There you won't find beefsteaks dressed with anchovy butter, nor truffled turkeys, for food there is scarce. But there are roots in great abundance. You will live somewhat after the manner of anchorites for a while—only you'll dig gold. Those who don't—well . . .

Forget in aiming for this goal the taste of rolls and butter; for they are sold there at 90 francs apiece due to lack of bakers.

Go, that you may return the quicker, for you'll be counted among the world's elect. You'll be able, even if as ugly as Vulcan and as crooked as he, to find a Venus for your share. As to disagreements which are sure to follow, not even your gold can forearm you against them.

No matter, happiness isn't stumped at such trifles. All aboard then and bring back some gold—some gold—Gold forever!

SUTTER WRITES OF THE GOLD DISCOVERY

With an Explanatory Note by Charles L. Camp

New Helvetia May 4, 1848.

Mr. Heinrich Thommen

Dear Sir:

The three pairs of shoes you will have received through Mr. Lennox.

For the wheat, for which you have a credit with me, I shall pay you in gold or in anything else I have, since the wheat would cause you nothing but difficulties; besides the wheat is at present very low in price.

Mr. [Heinrich] Lienhard wrote you a few lines at the time gold was discovered near my sawmill. From that time on, many considerable discoveries have been made. Gold is found now twenty miles from here and travels up to the sawmill in a width of twenty to thirty miles and about forty miles in length; that is as far as we have traced it. We have hired an expert miner as the manager of our company. I am strongly convinced that the gold region extends as far as San Fernando and upward from here to the end of Sacramento Valley. It seems almost unbelievable how rich these plazeros and mines have proved to be. Nothing equalling them has ever been found in Mexico, in Peru or in Chile. The workers make at least an average of $4 to $5 per day, where the Mormons are operating one has found in one single washing $60. Business in the stores is quite active, Mr. [C. C.] Smith has received in three days thirty ounces of gold and has only a few men working for him.

Not only placeros but also rich gold veins have been discovered on our property, which we shall explore more thoroughly before it pleases Uncle Sam to lay his fatherly hand over it. Major [P. B.] Reading and I have also discovered very rich silver mines only five miles this side of the sawmill, as also iron. This mountain range is full of minerals of all sorts. Platinum has also been found that is higher in value than gold. I felt it my duty to make you acquainted with all these facts.

Messrs. [François] Abeck and [Jacob] Schmidts [and] Zimmerman have formed a partnership, and they start tomorrow for the mountains for washing gold. Abeck has been there before and has made out very well. You shall see that Sutterville will immediately become a town, and another small town will spring up near the sawmill, which will give me a splendid market for my boards. My flour mill would have been finished by this time had not every one of the workers gone after gold, but it will be ready within three weeks' time. I do not need to look now for another market for my flour, as within six months at least 3,000 souls will be hereabouts. I expect my family here in about five months.

With friendly greetings, I am

Respectfully yours,

J. A. Sutter.

Mr. Thomas F. Madigan of New York City has kindly sent us a facsimile of the foregoing letter, written in the German language by J. A. Sutter about three months after Marshall's discovery of gold. A translation similar to the one given here was published in the *New York Times* of October 25, 1931.

The document is a long-hidden bit of drift cast up at the very flood tide of Sutter's career. It catches the genial easy-going Captain at the moment when he saw great wealth approaching and just before the realities of the gold-rush in the shape of squatters, raiders, deserters, debts and drink, rudely snatched this wealth away.

The optimism of this letter stands in great contrast to Sutter's depressing accounts of the period in his reminiscences. Gold had not yet become his bogy. Sacramento City had not yet arisen to rob him of his precious Sutterville and the goodwill of his eldest son. As yet, he had no suspicion that his flour mill was destined never to turn a wheel. His land titles were not beclouded and his herds and crops and small industries still prospered.

What a sad change in the establishment at New Helvetia a few short weeks were to inflict! Surrounded by charlatans and flatterers, drunk with visions of grandiloquence as well as with the products of his own distillery, Sutter's money and influence oozed away along with his property, and his retainers. The rooms at the Fort were transposed into grog shops and gambling dens. He moved first to the Hock Farm and finally to the more friendly community at Lititz, Pennsylvania, where debt and litigation followed and where he finally died after desperate efforts to obtain recompense from the "fatherly hand of Uncle Sam." Sutter never succeeded in obtaining title to any of the lands upon which the placers were situated.

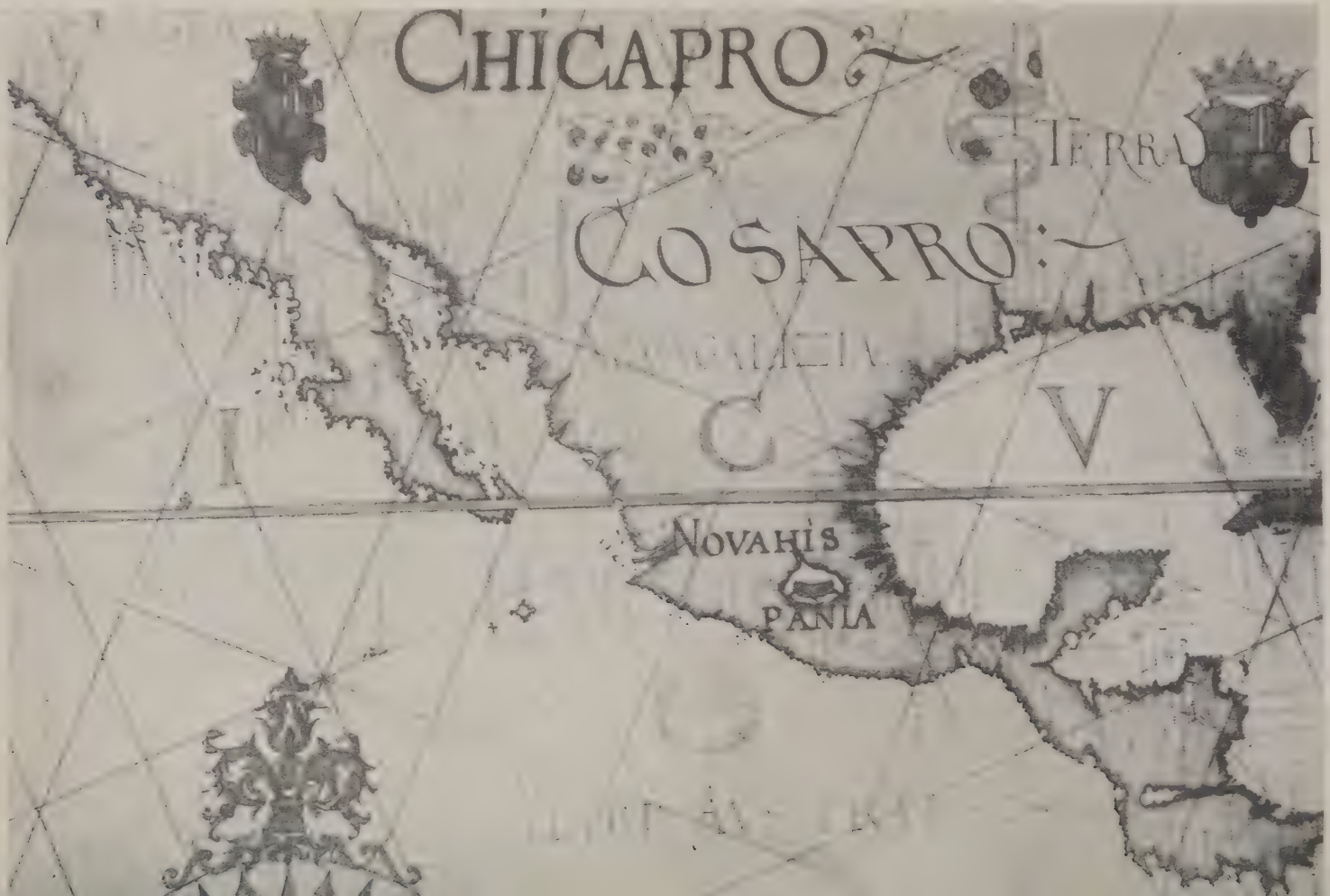
"Heinrich Thommen," to whom the letter is addressed, was probably in San Francisco at this date. He is little known, but appears to have been one of the more prominent members of the Swiss colony in California. Bancroft devotes a line or two to him under the name of "Henry Thomen." He is mentioned a number of times in Lienhard's book (*Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes*, Zurich, 1900). Lienhard consistently calls him "Thomann," speaks of him as his "old friend," and says that he traveled with him from Switzerland to St. Louis and across the plains in 1846. From Lienhard we learn that Thomann was employed by Sutter for a short time in the fall of 1846. With Kiburz, Müller and a company of Indians he was engaged in developing the truck gardens at Minal on the Yuba. In the summer of 1848 he was in charge of a wine shop at Sacramento where he remained for at least ten years. Mr. Madigan writes that one of Thomann's descendants brought the letter to this country from Europe.

A MAP OF CABRILLO'S DISCOVERIES

Readers of my account of the Cabrillo voyage published in the *Quarterly* for March, 1928, will recall that in the Cartographical Note on page 62 the statement is made that "it was not until 1592 that any of Cabrillo's names not found in that book [Gómara's] appear on the map." That statement now has to be corrected. Such a map does exist, and has been known for a long time, but the fact that it contains Cabrillo names on the northwest coast of North America has been overlooked. The first mention of it that I find was made by Henry Harrisse in his *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, published in Paris in 1882, where some description of it will be found on page 244; but Harrisse was only interested in the northeast coast of America and makes no mention of the part depicting the northwest coast. The title of the map is as follows: *Universa ac Navigabilis totivs Terrarvm Orbis Descriptio cvm omnibus portvbvs ynsvlis flvviis* . . . Below in a cartouche is the following: *Andreas Homo, Cosmographvs Lvsitanvs, me faciebat. Antverpiae anno Millessimo Qvingentesimo. Quinqvegesimo, Nono.* That is to say in good English, "A general and hydrographic description of the whole world with all the ports, islands and rivers, etc." and "Andreas Homo, Portuguese cosmographer made me, Antwerp, 1559."

Andreas Homo, Latin for his real name, André Homem, was a map maker who was living in France in 1565 and claimed to have been in the service of Francis I. He was a member of a well-known Portuguese family of cartographers of that name but what his exact relationship was to the others to be mentioned is unknown. Two, a Lopo Homem and a Diogo Homem, were active during the same period as he, and the latter was the son of a Lopo Homem who was in all probability a man who under the same name had been a cosmographer of the King of Portugal nearly forty years before. Diogo left us several atlases of manuscript maps all of which are dated from Venice. The Lopo of that period drew one in 1554 which is dated from Lisbon. This was reproduced in 1926 by Giuseppe Caraci in his *Tabulae geographicae vetustiores*. A comparison of the maps of America drawn by these three men shows a remarkable resemblance between them. This is especially noticeable in the maps of Lopo and André and those of the Diogo atlas of 1568, a section of which was reproduced by me as Plate VIII in the *Quarterly* for December, 1924.

To anticipate a little I would like to call attention to the resemblance of the peninsula of Lower California and the opposite Sonora and Sinaloa coast on the last two maps. In fact they are almost identical as far as they go; what little difference there is appears in the place names. The Lopo Homem map of 1554 is somewhat different, and besides does not extend so far west even as the Diogo Homem map of 1568, although I think it once extended farther west than it now does. It seems to have been cut off on both sides, leaving a space between North America and Asia of some eighty degrees. This void is not an uncommon feature of maps of that period but I can see no reason why Lopo Homem, work-


CHICAPRO
TERRA
COSAPRO
NOVAHIS
PANIA

ing as he was in Lisbon, should have omitted it. The Portuguese had nothing to conceal there, and so I conclude that this map once showed at least more of California, and perhaps as much more as appears on the André Homem map. A peculiarity of all three is their derivation from some Spanish map showing the results of the Alarcon expedition of 1540, and therefore one essentially different from the Cabot map of 1544. The Domingo del Castillo map, although also showing the results of the Alarcon expedition, was not their prototype. His errors will be found in most cases to be corrected on them.

The André Homem manuscript map, when first described by Harrisse, was in the map department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, but it has recently been removed to the Bibliothèque Nationale. It originally was a single map of the world on a plane projection but at some time was cut up into ten sections, probably for the sake of convenience, as it measured about three meters in length by one and a half in height. Unlike those of Lopo and Diogo Homem it shows the entire world. The section which I reproduce is but little reduced from the original. It will be noted that the names at the upper part of the northwest coast are rather difficult to read. Whether the map is faded at this point or whether the reproduction is simply poor I cannot state. Owing to the great expense of photographing ten large sections the work was done for me with a photostat machine and very much reduced negatives were obtained, which were afterwards enlarged to approximately the size of the original sheets. The northwest coast extends in a purely hypothetical wavy line a few degrees beyond my reproduction, and there stops. Reading the names from north to south we have: Sierras Nevadas, B. or P. Blanca or Blanco, P. de los Primeros, C. Nevado, San Mart[in] or S. Micael, B. de S. Pedro, P. Galera, P. de Todos Santos, P. de Sardinas, P. de las Canoas, Costa Blanca, P. de los Fuegos, Ancon de San Migel, Bahia de San Mateo, C. de Cruz, B. San Juan, Laguna de los Apostoles, C. del Engaño. Farther south mixed with some old names we find some whose origin cannot be determined. The islands are named as follows beginning at the north: Concepcion, Palmas, S. Lucas, S. Salvador, La Vitoria, Perlas (?) S. Agustin (repeated farther south), La Madalena (in the position of the Benitos), Reparo, Cedros and one unnamed just south of the last. Of the mainland names P. Blanca, B. de San Martin or San Micael, B. de San Pedro, P. de las Canoas, and B. de San Mateo never appeared on contemporary maps and most of them never on any maps. When we come to the islands which, roughly speaking, are properly located we find a set of names of which we can trace San Lucas, San Salvador, Vitoria, and San Agustin to the Cabrillo account as published in the *Quarterly* for March, 1928. San Agustin subsequently appeared on maps but the names of the others seemingly never again. Concepcion seems to be applied to the one known in the Cabrillo account as Posesion, in fact, it may be simply an error for that name. Palmas, from its position, might be San Nicolas, and the Perlas the Todos Santos Islands as there are two in that neighborhood. Although the configuration of this coastline on the map is something like the actual one the bays are much exaggerated in size so that we

might be justified in assuming that it was based on some written account, especially above Cedros. The position of the islands is also a little too haphazard to warrant us in believing that this was obtained from a map made during the expedition. The whole trend of the coast is too far to the west, but that was the fault of all maps of this part at the time.

This is not the place to enter into an extended examination of the rest of the map. It may be said, however, that the conception of the open sea north of America and of the northern coast of that country first outlined on the Lopo Homem map of 1554 and elaborated in this, formed to a large extent the basis for the Ortelius map of 1564 and the English maps derived from it. The immense open sea, with names on the southern shore indicative of actual discovery, was no doubt a great factor in inducing the English to send out the expeditions of Martin Frobisher and John Davis.

H. R. Wagner.

THE CALIFORNIA DIGGIN'S

From a remarkable daguerreotype dating from the early 1850s. The original was sent by Charles E. De Long to his brother in New York State, and probably represents Foster's Bar on the North Fork of the Yuba River. The smoke at the right is the smoke from a small fire. Note dug-over area along the stream.

"CALIFORNIA'S BANTAM COCK"

THE JOURNALS OF CHARLES E. DE LONG, 1854-1863

Edited by Carl I. Wheat

APPENDIX

OUTLINE OF DE LONG'S CAREER AFTER DECEMBER 11, 1862*

It was in May, 1863, after the great flood of the preceding year and after the utter defeat of his party at the polls, that De Long definitely turned his face toward the promised land of "Washoe," which had already called many of his California friends before him. Leaving his little wife—then expecting their first baby—behind him,[1] he made a preliminary tour to spy out the land of silver. While there he was taken suddenly very ill and was even reported by the newspapers to have died on the desert.[2] Happily for Elida the report was false, and happily for Charley he discovered what seemed to be his opportunity.

Soon he was established at the great "silver camp" of Virginia City, where he became the partner in the practice of law of D. W. Perley, erstwhile partner in Stockton of David S. Terry. Business came rapidly to the firm. Times might be slow in Marysville—but they were booming on the Comstock.

It is not strange that De Long soon found himself again in the arena of politics. As early as 1859 an abortive convention had been held under the leadership of Isaac Roop of Honey Lake Valley for the purpose of declaring "Washoe" no longer a part of Utah Territory, and of forming a separate government for this western part of the great area which was still ostensibly under the control of Salt Lake City. But Congress did not confirm this action, and Honey Lake Valley was soon found to be a part of California, with the result that "Governor" Roop was ousted by the compelling force of geography.

Somewhat later a governor and staff were dispatched from Washington to rule this wilderness land, and this governor, James M. Nye, called together a

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* In view of the fixed habit and purpose of keeping a daily journal which Charles E. De Long had formed over the period of nearly a decade prior to the close of 1862, it seems probable that he continued his diary after the final entry for December 11, 1862, but if he did so these later Journals have not been discovered, save for certain fragments covering portions of the years 1868 and 1869. It is probable that the diaries for the other years were burned when his office and library were destroyed in the great fire at Virginia City in 1875, a year before his death.

[1] Lilian (Mrs. John E. Savage) was born on Aug. 8, 1863. See below for letters from De Long to Elida and to brother James R. De Long from Virginia City telling of his reaction to the silver country.

[2] Among the newspaper accounts which appeared at this time was the following from an unknown paper, found among other clippings in De Long's scrapbook:

"Charles De Long, a young man of considerable talent, and formerly Senator from Yuba county, died, recently, in Virginia City. Mr. De Long advanced himself with great success and perseverance. We first saw him an attendant in a saloon at Foster's Bar, next in the Legislature, and afterwards a prosperous attorney in Marysville. A couple of years ago, he married a beautiful and accomplished daughter of the Hon. J. R. Vineyard; and observing the brilliant wedding party at one of the fashionable hotels in San Francisco, we thought that 'Charley' the barkeeper had reason to bless the institutions of a country where 'honor and fame from no condition rise'."

second Constitutional Convention late in 1863. The Constitution which it adopted was defeated at the election of January 19, 1864, but on March 21 President Lincoln signed a bill providing for a third convention, and at the election of delegates held on June 6, De Long was chosen to represent Storey County.[3]

The Convention assembled at Carson City on July 4, 1864, and De Long took a leading part in its deliberations.[4] The Constitution which it drafted was adopted in August by an overwhelming vote, and on October 31, 1864, the President issued his Proclamation declaring Nevada a State. The first State legislature met at Carson City early in December, and on the fifteenth a Joint Convention was assembled for the purpose of selecting two Senators to represent the new state at Washington. On the first ballot William M. Stewart (see Note 116, 1859) received thirty-three votes and was elected, while former Governor Nye and De Long each received twenty-three votes. A battle royal resulted, but on the next day Nye was elected and drew the short term of two years.

De Long went back to his law practice undismayed. The partnership with Perley was dissolved, Judge Lewis Aldrich, formerly of San Francisco, taking Perley's place as De Long's partner. The new firm enjoyed a large practice, but with it all De Long was not politically inactive. When the election of 1866 drew near the lines between his supporters and those of Nye were sharply drawn. Nye accused De Long of having been either opposed to the Civil war or at least of having stood aloof. This De Long vehemently denied, at the same time attacking Nye by publicly accusing him of fraud in connection with his administration of the Indian affairs of the Territory.

The contest was bitter and personal. The Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* aligned itself with Nye, while the *Gold Hill Daily News* supported De Long. On September 15, 1866, the latter made a speech at a large "Union Mass Meeting" at Virginia City which was "phonographically reported," and which was published in pamphlet form for use in the campaign. It was a long and carefully prepared defense of his political course in California and Nevada, and ended with a bitter denunciation of Nye and a direct accusation of fraud and dishonesty.[5]

When the legislature met in joint convention on January 15, 1867, the feeling between the two men and their respective supporters was bitter and intense.[6] On the first ballot De Long received twenty-one votes to Nye's eighteen, while John B. Winters and Thomas H. Williams each received seven and Thomas Fitch four. The next day the vote stood: Nye, 25; De Long, 27;

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[3] In the list of delegates De Long is stated to have been 32 years of age, affiliated with the Union party, and to have favored Douglas for President in 1860. (Thompson & West, *History of Nevada*, p. 86.)

[4] See *Debates of the Nevada Constitutional Convention;* also pamphlet entitled, *Evidence Concerning Projected Railways across the Sierra Nevada Mountains from Pacific Tidewater in California,* Carson City, 1865, a report of hearings of the Committee on Railroads of the First Nevada Legislature.

[5] See pamphlet entitled, *Speech of Hon. Charles E. De Long at a Union Mass Meeting Held in Virginia City, Nev., on Saturday Evening, September 15, 1866,"* printed at office of the Gold Hill Daily News, Gold Hill, Nev., p. 14.

Fitch, 4; Williams, 1,—necessary for choice, 29. The lines were now drawn for the final struggle. Nye succeeded in acquiring the scattering votes of the other candidates, together with those of two of De Long's supporters, and on the 17th was elected by a vote of thirty-two to twenty-five. Much scandal attended the manoeuvering by which Nye acquired these votes.

Back to his law practice went the "Bantam Cock," not the least discouraged, for he was offered strong support against Stewart, who was to come up for re-election two years later. In 1868, De Long, now a full-fledged Republican, was made a delegate to that party's convention in Chicago which nominated General Grant for the Presidency, and he was a leading member of the committee which drew up the platform. He was made Nevada's representative on the National Committee. After a brief trip to Wisconsin, he proceeded to the East, where he visited his old home in New York State for the first time since his departure for California in 1850, going thence to New York and Boston, and later to Washington, where he met Stewart and recorded in his journal, on July 19, that "Stewart tried to close with me, but I declined . . . Took his proposition under advisement until I should reach home." He sailed from New York the next day for California, via Panama.[7]

Late in the fall of 1868—Virginia City being at the time in one of its periodic doldrums—De Long removed to the booming White Pine region, where he established himself at Treasure City in partnership with Judge Lewis Aldrich, Hon. J. S. Slauson and Thomas Wren. The quartet soon developed a large practice, but politics was not forgotten.[8]

It is not necessary to go into details of the ensuing political events. Suffice it to say that De Long and Stewart were rival candidates for the office of United States Senator before the Republican State Convention later in the year, but that, "in the interest of party harmony," De Long voluntarily withdrew his

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[6] In De Long's scrapbook there are a number of clippings relating to this campaign, including an editorial from the *Los Angeles News* of October 2, 1866, which for vitriolic venom and obscenity could hardly be bettered. Of De Long the editor declared:

"We think this liliputian, in times past, was a bar-keeper somewhere in Yuba county, in our state. Afflicted with an incurable verbal diarrhea, he managed to persuade the fellow citizens of his vicinage that he had a soul much larger than his diminutive person would indicate . . . this homeopathic individual . . . talked at Sacramento most incontinently . . . vaporing away on every occasion; he never uttered a sentiment that had the consistency of egg-shell broth, yet the offensive manikin, with intellect as dwarfed as his body, would vent his shrill voice and his wretched platitudes to nausea. De Long is a loquacious and impudent and swaddling and ridiculous pigmy."

Of Nye this editor thought even less than of De Long, but his language is unprintable. Politics was a great game in those days, and Nye was declared to be a "thief, liar, drunkard, defamer, lecher . . . This terrible wretch has never been stirred by one moral principle—one noble impulse . . . the incarnation of filth—the embodiment of corruption."

[7] De Long's Journal for 1868 is fragmentary. It concerns his trip back to "The States," the Republican National Convention, his visit to old friends and relatives in New York State, and a portion of the voyage home via Panama.

[8] George T. Marye, in his book, *From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada,* pp. 135-37, speaking of the decrease in property values in Virginia City, says that William M. Stewart built this house at a cost of $30,000; that he sold it to De Long for an amount not stated; that De Long sold it to A. J. Ralston—brother of W. C. Ralston, the banker—for $10,000, and that the latter turned it over to Marye for a credit of $2,500, the lumber in it being later bought by Piper of Piper's Opera House for $100 to be used in rebuilding his theater. This account appears to be not strictly correct, as De Long records in his Journal under date of April 6, 1869, that he sold his house to one J. H. Mallon for $2,800.

candidacy, and received from the Convention a curious Resolution lauding him for the stand he had taken.[9]

His reward was not long in presenting itself, for on April 15, 1869, he was notified that President Grant had appointed him Minister to the Empire of Japan. Many of his friends urged him to decline the honor, as he had recently been developing a reputation as one of the leading mining lawyers of the West, and had just won a number of very important cases in eastern Nevada.[10]

To De Long, however, the opportunity for a "diplomatic career" was irresistible. On September 17 he wrote in his Journal:

> Left White Pine for aye—perhaps for Japan really—About 11 months since I first saw it and I feel that I leave it with every reason to be proud of my professional and pecuniary triumphs there achieved. An army of friends flocked to see me off & to bid farewell . . . by Wells, Fargo . . . a crowded stage, we set sail over the alkali deserts for home, family, Japan and honors or loss of such. *Time will tell.* Would I could read the horoscope. Reader, you will know it in the future. I leave room for you to write the verdict.

On October 2 he gave to Mr. A. Seligman, of San Francisco, power of attorney to handle his affairs in his absence, and two days later sailed for Japan with his family on the steamer *China,* "attended by a vast concourse of friends, many of whom parted from us in tears." They landed at Yokohama on October 30, and then began the career to which he had so greatly looked forward.

In 1872 he led the first official Japanese delegation to the United States for the negotiation of a commercial treaty.[11] He returned to Japan, but was recalled

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[9] This Resolution, a political curio, read as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the action of Hon. C. E. De Long in withdrawing from the Senatorial contest in favor of Mr. Stewart, in order that there might be entire unanimity in our councils, is an act of patriotic self-denial so noble in its character, and so gratifying to the people of Nevada, that it merits their warmest commendations and approval.

"*Resolved,* That by his conduct in this matter Mr. De Long has endeared himself to every loyal voter in the State; and the thanks of a grateful people are hereby tendered him for so promptly sacrificing his personal political prospects to the end that the victory gained over error and wrong in the late contest should not be shorn of its fruits by partisan strife among the friends of Freedom, Humanity and Progress."

[10] De Long's (fragmentary) Journal for 1869 is of importance, since it deals intimately with the trial of some of the most important mining lawsuits of the period. At this time he represented the owners of the celebrated Eberhardt mine in bitter litigation at Austin against the Richmond mine (Jan. 11-25). He also represented the Virginia and Gold Hill Water Co. After learning of his appointment as Minister, he went to San Francisco to close up certain affairs and then returned to Elko and the White Pine District, leaving Elida at Sacramento. On June 5 he wrote:

"This is the anniversary of my landing in California 19 years ago . . . and today [I] took the oath of office as *Minister Resident to Japan* . . . Retrospect. 19 years ago today a boy alone and penniless I reached these shores. Through the vicissitudes of a pioneer's life I have achieved a fair professional standing, am a Foreign Minister and chiefly blest with a loving wife and two sweet children. Reader, What is your verdict upon the result of my last 19 years?"

On his birthday (Aug. 13) he was trying the case of Aurora South Silver Mining Company against the Rathburn Co., during the course of which there was "much excitement and feeling on our side against the judge" (for his rulings), and Anson and Rathburn were "shot in a quarrel. Rathburn killed outright by our Hoskins." The next day: "Our McGlade [was] shot and killed today in a quarrel." Wild days these! On September 16 the other side surrendered during the trial. "Thus went up a flume the great Hidden Treasure case. Another great triumph for me."

Little wonder that his friends said that the acceptance of the diplomatic appointment "ruined" De Long's career!

[11] Theodore H. Hittell in his *History of California,* speaking of the Legislature of 1872, has the following to say respecting this mission (Vol. IV, pp. 506-7):

"The next matter of special interest in the legislature was the reception of the Japanese embassy. This consisted of Iwakura, junior prime minister, envoy extraordinary and

in 1874 and resumed his practice at Virginia City.[12]

Times were exciting. Fortunes were being won and lost overnight in silverland. In his letters to Elida, who remained for a time in Oakland, with their five young children, De Long speaks of the chicanery connected with stock market manipulations then being practised. He wrote his brother of his difficulties financial and otherwise, but courageously faced the problems before him, although the great fire which destroyed Virginia City in 1875 took his entire library. A partnership was formed with Judge Charles H. Belknap, who later became Governor of Nevada.

Politics again claimed his attention, but he was defeated for nomination for Congress by his former law partner, Wren, early in 1876, and while he started on a campaign through the State in support of Rutherford B. Hayes for President, he contracted typhoid fever. Although he appeared to be recovering, he was suddenly stricken with pneumonia and passed away at his home in Virginia City on October 26, 1876. He was but forty-four years old, and at the time was President of the Society of Pacific Coast Pioneers.[13]

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minister plenipotentiary of Japan, and four or five other Japanese officials of high rank, accredited by their government to the so-called treaty powers, who were on their way to Washington. Their object was to negotiate on the subject of commercial relations; and it was deemed of the highest importance to treat them with distinguished consideration. Their company, including secretaries and attendants, numbered forty-four persons. They were accompanied by Charles E. De Long of California, the United States minister to Japan. On February 1, 1872, upon the announcement of their presence, the senate postponed other business; invited them to seats within its bar, and listened to an address by De Long, who had been asked to speak upon the subject of his mission. Upon their withdrawal, a resolution offered by Edward Tompkins was unanimously adopted, welcoming the minister and the embassy and expressing a hope that their coming might be the harbinger of a commercial intercourse that would add largely to the prosperity and happiness of the people of both countries. (Senate Journal, 1871-2, 285.) They next visited the assembly and were received with equal respect. (Assembly Journal, 1871-2, 356-358.) But there was a sequel to the visit. A few days afterwards, Charles Maclay of Santa Clara introduced into the senate a concurrent resolution in reference to the payment of the expenses of the joint committee of the two houses which had been appointed to invite the embassy to the capital, of which he had been chairman. In reply to this, Henry Larkin of El Dorado demanded a bill of items of the expenses incurred. Maclay submitted an account, which proved to be a bill of the Orleans Hotel against the Japanese embassy for two thousand dollars, of which six hundred dollars were for De Long, his family and attendants; two hundred and fifty dollars for carriages; three hundred dollars for wine, eight hundred dollars for a banquet and fifty dollars for cigars. The matter being referred to the committee on contingent expenses, it reported that there was nothing in the resolution of invitation authorizing the joint committee to incur any expense, and that the bill presented was a hotel bill, not charged against the committee and not for any expenses connected with the reception of the embassy. But the senate as a whole, taking a different view of the subject, ordered the bill paid; and the assembly concurred. (Senate Journal, 1871-2, 307, 309, 330, 376.)"

[12] No attempt is made here to discuss the career of De Long as a diplomat, or the reasons for his recall. Politics obscured true values, but the years have brought a clearer perspective, and much of Japan's later progress is now seen to be the direct result of American advice and suggestion made during De Long's incumbency as Minister.

[13] Said the *Territorial Enterprise*:

"He was considered very dangerously ill through the night, and early yesterday morning all hopes of his recovery were given over. When informed of this he requested that his five little children be brought to his bedside that he might look once more upon them. His wife, who had remained by his side during the night, then brought them in, and he kissed them and bade them farewell. During the next three hours he sank gradually but was able to recognize his friends as they entered the room. At 10 o'clock he became oblivious of what was going on about him and at 11 breathed his last in the presence of his family, Judge Belknap (his law-partner), Judge Rising, John H. Kinkead (President of the Washoe Club), Captain Rawlings, his attendant physicians and others."

In "Charley" De Long's untimely death even his old-time political enemy, the *Territorial Enterprise* spoke of him in terms of highest praise, and expressions of sincere regret poured in from every side.[14] He left little to his family of a material character, but among his possessions were thirteen small black books in which he had recorded the events of his life. No greater legacy could he have left, for in his journal we see not only the growth of a man and the development of a personality, but we possess a unique picture of the life and times of the California during that eventful decade from 1854 to 1863. The historical importance of this remarkable diary will unquestionably grow from year to year.[15]

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[14] Of De Long the *Enterprise* declared:

"In very many ways Mr. De Long was a wonderful man. He was a creation of this coast. When he came here he was but a lad, who had struggled up from childhood without advantages and support, with nothing behind him but an honorable name and just ambition, with nothing before him but the possibilities which are before every American youth. But these were enough. He was willing to enter that field where only great hearts and great brains can win; willing to take his chance with the rest, for his lofty self-respect whispered to his soul that his fame was secure. He fought back the disadvantages of want of early culture until they disappeared, until he stood prominent among the first advocates and first orators on the coast. So winsome were his social attributes, so marked his intellectual qualities, and such was the magnetism of his presence, that, from the first, the friends who swarmed around him were legion. One of his most marked characteristics was his faithfulness to his political convictions. He suffered innumerable political defeats when he had every reason to expect success, but he never swerved in his party fealty. From every defeat he came smiling, ready with all his irresistible energy to strike for the cause in whose advocacy he never wavered for fifteen years. The great achievement of his life was his fulfillment of his duties as Minister to Japan. The world does not appreciate his work there yet. He found a nation borne down by the lethargy of ages, wedded to old customs, inured in old superstitions. The energy and acuteness of his mind took in the needs of that people in a moment, and he whispered the words of enchantment which awakened a new life through the mysterious Empire, and the result is that a nation of 30,000,000 of people has been transfigured."

15. Editor's Concluding Note. Since the publication of the earlier portions of the De Long Journals, the editor, by an extraordinary coincidence, was put in touch with the daughter of De Long's brother, James Reid De Long, in New York State. She, now Mrs. Sarah Seaman of White Plains, New York, has cordially assisted in many ways, and has loaned many letters and family possessions. The appreciation of the editor is also due to Monsignor Charles A. Ramm, of San Francisco, who was born at "Ramm's Ranch," near Camptonville; to his sister, Mrs. George W. Marsh, of San Francisco, who has cordially assisted in the correction of errors and the procuring of additional information from old-time Yuba County residents; to William B. Meek, of Camptonville, a mine of information anent the early pioneers of the Yuba diggin's; to Mrs. Letty A. Nelson and Mrs. Harriet Hogan, of Santa Cruz, daughters of John Clay, of Garden Valley on the old road from Camptonville down to Foster's Bar; to Miss Eudora Garoutte and Miss Caroline Wenzel of the California State Library at Sacramento, without whose generous assistance the notes to the Journal could not successfully have been prepared; to Fred W. McKechnie, publisher of the *Marysville Appeal-Democrat,* whose file of early newspapers has proved invaluable; to Thomas S. Byrd, a pioneer of 1850, who lived in the Yuba mountains for nearly eighty years; to Edward B. Stanwood, of Marysville, whose acquaintance with the old families of the region and whose intimate knowledge of early Marysville events has been widely drawn upon, and to Miss Dorothy Huggins, of the California Historical Society, whose careful attention to detail and efficient assistance has continued throughout the work. These are but a few of the many persons whose helpful aid has been generously offered and freely drawn upon by the editor.

A word of explanation respecting the notes: in editing this extensive Journal we were faced with the alternative of printing it with but few annotations, or of publishing it a year (or less) at a time in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, with as full annotation as possible. At the suggestion and upon the advice of numerous persons who had read the diary, the second alternative was adopted. It is quite possible that, despite the most careful attention, errors may have crept into some of these notes, but in every instance they have been checked by old residents of the sections involved, by members of the staff of the California State Library, or by others.

LETTERS

The letters here printed are selected from two groups of letters from or to Charles E. De Long which have come to light since the publication of the earlier portions of the Journal. The first group consists of fourteen letters received from James R. De Long's daughter, Mrs. Sarah De Long Seaman, of White Plains, New York. They date from the period prior to the commencement of the Journal and during its first two years, and are valuable for the picture they paint of life in the California mines. The second group consists of thirty letters, some received from Mrs. Seaman and others from Mrs. Lilian De Long Savage, dated from 1863 on and including several written while De Long was Minister to Japan. All or portions of the letters included in the first group, and portions of seven of those in the second group follow:

I

[James R. De Long to His Sister Elizabeth, from "The City of the Great Salt Lake," July 13, 1849]

Dear Sister

I arrived at this Great City yesterday at noon. I have been sick with the mountain fever for near 2 weeks. I had no appetite, a terrible head-ache, Stiff Neck &c but now I am much better, what you might call well. I can eat and drink as usual. I hope this may find you and all the family the same. A. D. B[rill] is well. He and I are here by ourselves. We left the other boys at Fort Larimie 600 miles out, and came on ahead. I could tell you a long and interesting account of my journey could I see you, but I cannot write it. A few lines from me now must suffice, although you know that it would be my wish to write all. I am disappointed in some respects concerning my journey and in others my hopes are fully realized. We have been in sight of snow for a month. We are now within 800 miles of Sutters fort Calaf. We shall pack our mules from here and go through in 30 days probably. We have travelled over mountains some 7000 feet above the level of the sea. Others whose tops towered thousands of feet above these still were covered with snow. It is as warm as a July day home, here now, and still step out of the tent and look towards Utah Lake and you can see hills covered with snow. The houses in this city (as it is styled) are built some of Wagon boxes some of slabs some of logs and Some of the more stylish of sun burnt brick. There are some 8000 inhabitants in this great valley. Yesterday at sun set I took a bath in the Warm Spring a little above a blood heat. I should have written to you oftener but I had no opportunity to send letters. Write me as soon as you get this. How is Father, Mother & Charlie, Polly, Walter &c. Give my respects to all, the *young folks* and tell them I hope once more to see them and see them well. Give my love to all the family and retain the same yourself

From your Brother

Jas R. De Long

Salt Lake

Miss Elisabeth De Long

Beekman

II

[James R. De Long to Charles E. De Long, from Hangtown, January 28, 1853]

Charles — It is some time since I have written to you, and some time longer since I saw you. However, to begin I am well, and at present doing very well. I am building a barn for Dr. Platt. I am, however, working by the month for him, my first month *ever* in this way. I would like very much to hear from you, and Mr. Weaver. We have had such terrible travelling this winter that it has been impossible for us to correspond I suppose.

I have been somewhat uneasy on your account, in consequence of the reports from that region. I hope however that you are all right. I want you to inform me of your whereabouts, and what you are at. In fact, I want to know all the particulars. Have you done any thing for yourself since I saw you. It is some time you know. I wish you to inform me if you can regularly of your whereabouts. If you change places let me know it, as I am anxious.

Write me, and direct to this place, through the Post office, regular. And I will send to you, through the channell. As to what I have done, I have but little to say. I have

not however done as well as I expected to, the winter has been so bad. I (have) shall keep my place probably until next fall now. I would like to get ready to go home in the month of September or before. If you have any money on hand that you are not using send it to me through Wells, Fargo and Co.s Express.

I am better acquainted with that concern, and if there is any thing in that office, they tell me of it, as soon as they see me. The others do not. As to, *Old Hangtown*, it is nearly whiped. It has now become one of the dullest places in this region. Miners consider $4- good wages. On the Canal they are paying $65- *pr month and Board*. Hauling is 7 cts- from the City. Barley 18, and Hay 25- and scarce at that. Flour has been up to 40- Ham &c- 65- and Beef fresh 50- Mighty tight times these. We have had a few fine days. There has never been such a winter since I can recollect. I saw *Dave*-Belden - and John the other day. John has a felon on his finger, he looks bad and has done scarce nothing. *Dave* has fooled away his I think. I saw Brundage the other day, he is broke as usual. I did not take care of him as I used to you know. A. D. Brill is here broke. I recd a letter from Cornelius the other day dated *Dec.* 5th all well. Have you any letters. I wrote to father the other day 4 sheets in one Envelope. He thinks strange that we have not seen Each other in so long a time. I may come up your way in the spring, if there is anything Extra up there. If not I may go to Mokulumne. People complain much of hard times. Tell Weaver to be Careful of himself — *for I can not always be with him.* Tell him to be steady. I do not know but I shall start a Butcher shop on Smith's Ranch. I wish you would make Every day Count from this off. Be steady for you may be *A Man* before I see you. *Now Charles*, do you know where my Violin is — and where those Arcade Books are. I suppose they were burned. Remember me to Weaver and take care of *that Gun.* Write immediately through the regular Mail. Do *be punctual*

From your Brother

JAMES R. DE LONG

Charles what are the wages current of men that hire out up your way. Let me know what show for mining. Write to this place until I tell you different if you please

JIM

III

[CHARLES E. DE LONG TO JAMES R. DE LONG, FROM FOSTER'S BAR, FEBRUARY 12, 1853]

DEAR BROTHER

I have just received your letter *only fourteen days since you despatched it.* I have written to you lately and sent it down to Marysville by Mr Atchison, there to be put in the office of Adams & Co, which I suppose you have got. I have not received any line from you in a long time until I began to be uneasy and none from home or anywhere else until I began to think my friends had quite forgotten me. — Now in reference to business I comcd tending bar the 9th of September and continued at it until the 17th of December at $100.00 per month from that time until a few days ago, vis the 8th of February, I have been on expense on act of business being so dull, paying board at the rate of $18.00 per week, so you see I cannot have much money Now I am in a store for the same man at $60.00 for a month or two until Spring when business commences. I have gained the good will of the firm by whom I am employed and I am determined to stick to them as long as they will give me employment they keep a large hotel the only one on the Bar and two stores (one on each side of river) and a Ferry and are now making a turnpike from here to Marysville So you see they will be likely to want me some time and they have told me that as long as I wanted to stay I could stay and take my choice in the hotel or in one of the Stores. I am now in the store across the river from the Bar and have to collect the Ferryage and carry on the store, and Fosters is the regular Stopping place between Marysville & Downieville and all the intermediate mines which are extensive So you see there is sure to be business here as long as the mines will pay above. As you say in your letter truly this has been an awful winter men came down here from Downieville and payed 50 cts for flour and pack it up to their homes on their backs some 30 miles 5 men were found dead in one day between here and Downieville whole trains of mules perished in a night the snow about 30 feet deep crushing in the roofs of houses and killing the inmates. the miners in the Summer had cayoted under a good portion of Downieville and when this rain come on it caved in dreadfully and destroyed a great deal of the town letting [down] houses in the night and day without any warning. Some men that came here that were caught by the snow storm some twenty miles above Downieville where they were a wintering were so reduced that they came very near killing one of their number for food. Men were in the most imminent danger if they undertook to come down when it was storming, through getting lost or covered up in the snow through exhaustion so you see what the winter has been up here. *But there is one thing, I suffered none* I never saw so many men so completely broke as there was then, pawning revolvers worth 30 or 40 dollars for 10 or twelve pounds of flour, willing to do the hardest kind of work for their board, and there is still a great many broke men only get two

dollars per day on the turnpike and board and work from early till late — the water was 4 or five feet in middle of this store and in 49 it only came in a little on the floor. large slides came down on bars above this burying houses and men in them and fairly damming the river for a few minutes and floating timber there appeared to be no end to it for two or three days — large pine trees hundred's of feet long torn up by their roots — Long Toms, Cradles, Sluices, cabins, Bridges, Boats, Flumes & Fluming lumber — there was a river full all the time. It carried away Atchisons Bridge opposite this store in the first freshet he set men to work and had the lumber all got out for another. Just as the large freshet came he tied all the timber up but it all went away, ropes and all, so now he has put it off until spring and is now running a ferry — the one I spoke of. in three or four months business I have no doubt will be good, but I would not advise you to come up here, not at least until I tell you, and be sure I will not let a chance escape when I can see anything for you to do I think some of buying into a fluming company below here there is a fellow here I got acquainted with last fall owns 1½ shares in the company he wants me to go in with him and I do not know but that I shall the claim has been wing damed two years in succession and has played well but they could not work but a small portion of it. — it will take about all I have got to get in, and I may go in and I may not. — I would be very glad to send you some money if it was not for that. and at this time business is dull and money scarce and I should not like to ask Atchison for it at present. — I have made up my mind that the chances for making much money is gone by and I have resolved to make all I can and save all I get and I hope you will do the same.—That violin was in Eastmans Store at Sac. City and is I suppose burned up and also the Arcade Books which were in the Arcade Hotel. — Weaver I am rather suspicious of he has always been friendly to me but there is strange storys afloat about him here he is Justice of the Peace of the Fosters Bar Township and he neglects his duty sadly and they think of getting up a petition to have him removed from the office and I think they will that gun he has traded away but I know the man that has it Weaver told me that both barrells were bent and that it would not shoot well, but I have seen it since and that is false the man who has it says he would not take $50.00 for it, so I want you to write an order premptory for it or the pay and tell what you value it at. — Now I think that I have answered all your enquiries pretty clearly and satisfactorily and have given you about as plain an insight into my affairs as possible now then I have some to ask you If you go home in September (*as I hope you will*) about how much do you think you can take with you, if it is not impertinent. Now if you have made up your mind to go, why go, but do not make a false start. As you say I may be a man before you see me again, and I will in all probability if you do not come up here as I do not think that I will go below again until I go for good, but although I may be a man but a *mighty small one I am thinking*, I have not grown a particle since I saw you although I am now in as robust health as anyone could wish to be. I suppose Father & Mother may think strange of my not writing to them but the amt. of the business is that I am ashamed to and I do not know what to write and therefore I cannot commence as I know they think I have done well I hate to inform them different, hoping that I may yet do well and thereby save from all unnecessary trouble, but God knows and you know James Reid that is for no other reason. But now I must Close this as business is pressing. All I ask is for you to answer as punctually as I have

From Charley

IV

[Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Foster's Bar, March 15, 1853]

Dear Brother

According to your request I thought I would write to you again. I have had quite a severe attack of the Liver Complaint but I am now quite over it and by taking care of myself the doctor says I may keep free from it. I presented that order to Mr. Weaver and he appeared to make very strange of it the only remark he made was that he would write to you and see about it — He went up to Stony Bar with Northrop and I have seen Northrop since and he say's that Weaver told him that either you or I would have a d———d fine time a getting it and also told him to keep it. But Northrop told me if I demanded it he would give it to me (as he was satisfied that it was my gun because he knew Weaver to be a d——d rascal at home) but I would not take it that way he told Weaver that if he had to give up the gun that the damages would not be less than $50.00 and he told me that he would give that for it rather than not to have it. Write to me or Weaver for the gun and nothing but the gun and also tell me how he came in possession of it whether he stole it or borrowed it. He has got plenty of money & is a Whoreing it all the time and universally disliked on the bar. It is Stormy bad weather here at present the snow was about 4 inches deep here this morning but it has mostly left here to day. Times are very dull. I received a letter from D Dean the other day with a polite request to send him that amt due which I shall do in a few months probably. also

he said that he had heard that his Father was dead, and that Dave Beldin had went home in the last steamer. I have given up the idea of buying into that flumeing claim although I think it would pay

I do not know how long they will want me in this store they may not want me more than a few days but they may want me all summer if I should stay here all summer I am situated so that I could find out chances first rate and I shall be on the look out all the time and if I see anything I will send you word immediately and Northrop has promised me the same. you see, as I am situated I make a great many acquaintances and I trust some friends there is a host of business and travel through this place in the summer season and I have no doubt but that I can find something pretty good for you in the shape of diggins or a situation I have my eye on a creek claim and the bank which I think will pay and I shall buy them if I can get them right and expect you to work them. This Bar Fosters is some such a shaped Bar as that on the South Fork that we worked on only it is a great deal larger with a very large flat that has never been worked. Last winter when I was out of a situation I worked on the back part of it in the elbow with an old fellow by the name of McKinty that has lived a long time with the Atchison's and since I have been here he has continued working along by degrees until the other day when he took out $6.00 whether it was on the bed rock or not he could not tell as he had been sluicing off the top dirt as usual to get rid of it, but I think that he has struck the old bed of the river we have not let it out yet and shall not until we get ready to work it and then I will endeavor to work you a claim out somehow, but when I do any thing you shall hear from me. The next letter you write to me dont write it so short but give me a good one and I hope you will send some good news of some kind or another.

From Your Brother, CHARLEY

V

[JAMES R. DE LONG TO CHARLES E. DE LONG, FROM PLACERVILLE, MAY 12, 1853]

CHARLES. It is strange if you are living and well that you do not write to me. I have now waited from 3 to 7 weeks I forget which, for one. I sent you one from Father & one from Helen, &c and have heard nothing from *you*. Why in Creation do you not write. I am in a perfect flurry about you. D Belden told them that you was consumptive. John Taber has gone home. I wrote and told them it was not so. I have a letter from Helen lately.* Mother she says is fast failing, and wants us to come without fail, if we ever wish to see her. As usual I ask will you go. If not I *must part from you soon*. You are *my brother* and I long to see you and earnestly request you to go back. Come down here if you have nothing to do. Now for God sakes write. I have sent for the Gun through you to Weaver & Mr. Northrop. *Do write, do write*. I am well. I have a fair show now, mining. I have been appraising the Estate of Dr. P. L. Platt to day, *Willis Father*

Your Brother J. R. D.

Now do write regular or send word at least that you are somewhere.

VI

[CHARLES E. DE LONG, FOSTER'S BAR, MAY 31, 1853, TO JAMES R. DE LONG]

DEAR BROTHER I received yours last night and hasten to answer it you want to know if I received that letter of Fathers I received and answered it as I told you in a letter which I suppose you have not got I now have a long letter written to send to Helen which I shall send to day I should have written to her before but I was waiting for one that she said in yours she was agoing to write to me I am a getting along first rate I shall leave here to day if nothing happens I am agoing about 6 miles above here with a man who wants to make arrangements with me in partnerships where Atchison thinks I can do well and would go in with me himself but he is in more kinds of business now than he ought to be I am going up with the man to morrow to look at the place and if we can agree have the house put right up and go on, but Mr Atchison says if we cannot agree to come back and take my berth again so you see that I am all right, and the man I am going in with keeps a large store 3 miles from there and has a large

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* A portion of a letter from Aunt Helen Taber to James R. De Long, without date but probably written early in 1853, has survived and is in the possession of Mrs. Sarah De Long Seaman. In it Aunt Helen chats about neighborhood affairs, stating, among other things, that a new Episcopal Church is being built in Beekman in which "Mr. G. Noxon and sister" (our friends of the diary) are taking an active part; and notes that "I see by the last steamer there has been a great flood in Sacramento, and some other part of Upper California, and swept away a great many houses in Sac, and I looked for Charlie's name among the list of sufferers of course but I did not see it, and I don't know the name of his partner so I don't know whether he is one of the losers or not."

train of mules and has a good many customers from there which want him to put up a store over there the mens names are Carr. I received a letter from Helen but It was written the same day as yours and there was no news in it I also received one from Rory [Roger Moore] and have one written to send to him he says he has written everywhere to you but can get no answer he was at murphys when he wrote and talked of going to Australia* If you come up here come to Marysville & then take the stage for Fosters Bar, and when you get on the bar you will find but few men that does not know me I expect you will see the Adriances & Ball & Abe Rappleyea carry a stiff upper lip if you have not got a cent and when you come up here come up in good style. I received a letter from Daniel Dean the other day and a polite Dunn from him for that money and he condesended to take 4 per cent I wrote back to him that if he was amind to take the principal I would send it to him $75.00 but as for interest that I should not pay because you know that he told me that if I made nothing on the house he would charge me nothing for the use of the money and I wrote to him to that effect and have receid no word from him since did you settle up with Sanborne or not have you heard from Rory or not dont just write answers & say no more what did Eastman have to say for himself have you sold your Rancho or not did you get your pay of Clarke or not when do you calculate to start & did you never get a letter from me with an order from me for Abe [Brill] to pay you that money I sent one see if you cannot get anything of Eastman on that violin I loaned it to him. I have no more news to write to you I hope you will come up soon and then we can talk it all over when you get to the Eldorado just let them know that you are my Brother and you are all right.

From Your Brother

C E De Long

P S I cannot get that gun you will have to do that yourself —

VII

[Portion of Letter from Charles E. De Long, Greenville, January 5, 1854, to James R. De Long, Who Is Now at Home in the East and Has Married]

Dear Brother

I reced your letters yesterday and perused them with sorrow I asked myself is this always to be so is our house never to learn wisdom from the many reproving blows given it by the overruling hand of providence dislike between members of our house have arisen time after time . . . . alas poor humanity. the last letter I reced from you breathed comfort and encouragement upon my soul . . . . but now dark discord has jarred my feelings until nothing now of love for home remains except for you and your wife were you here I would no more think of returning oh what a vacancy is there in my heart and is that dear love so fondly cherished for Father [De Long's grandfather who brought him up after his parents died] unreturned what an agonizing thought is that, for oh Brother how I have loved him but tis past I live now but for myself and you do not submit to indignities I pray you settle up with Father for me take what he will give you if anything and come out here I will endeavour to prepare for you a small home and then with the blessings of God and our own strong arms we will hew out a fortune for ourselves talk with your wife reason with her and abide by your own calmly drawn conclusions of right tell her the hardships of a Calafornia life although you must bear in mind times changes every year here women are daily coming in and society improving there is but one thing to fear in bringing a woman here and that is they may unless they be of strong mind be led away by the attentions paid to them by men and become vain of themselves to an extent dangerous to themselves and injurious to their friends but you must best judge your wifes qualities if she is willing to venture and you also come I am confident that we can build up a fortune independent of all I am prepared to sink all other considerations in the dust. for the love of heaven submit to no indignities nor do not allow her to. — become no burthen upon her relatives. you are in the prime of life — so am I. we can raise a little money. what, I would ask, would cause us to become slaves? Nothing! and neither will we; cut no wood lots, work no hired farms but become a frontier man of independent mind. . . come prepared for any and everything you will find in me another brother from the one you left but still no less but more the Brother . . . show this letter to Father tell him that I love him with an undying love although he has inflicted upon me the most severe wound that it has ever been my part to bear . . . he brought me up with care and his counsels made me

* In this letter, which is headed, "Camp near San Antonio, Calaveras County, Cal., February 25th, 1853," Moore writes: "I have had very good success since I came into the Southern mines, and am now engaged in completing a Tunnel into a hill, where the dirt is very rich, as we have proved it, last summer, & I intend leaving my interest with my partner a young man from Louisianna, and going to Australia, . . . if you receive this answer it & direct to 'Murphys' "

what I am the feelings of independence instilled in my mind by his promptings caused me to yearn to make my own fortune, to gain my own living unsupported by relatives twas this feeling caused me to leave him, which he calls desertion, when the most fondly cherished hope of my bosom was to return to him to be a staff to his old age but sickness misfortune and all the other ills of which mankind is heir crossed my path as you well know, until by my prolonged absence he has (and apparently with reason) called me recreant, aye deserter to the shrine of filial affection . . .

VIII

[W. S. Newman to James R. De Long, from Hangtown, January 10, 1854]

Friend James

I Rec'd Your Letter dated Nov 14th by the last Mail, and was happy to learn that You had arrived Safely at Your Journey's End — about 3 weeks after You left Our Shores I wrote You, but You May not get it.—

Times are Extremely dull — Weather Continues Warm and dry — and no more prospects of Rain at this present time, than there Was last August. Miners are doing nothing, and Consequently the Traders are in the Same fix. Only one Class of People that are doing a profitable business now, County Officers and Lawyers — Speculations have run higher in this Country probably, than any other in the world. Fortunes have been Made and lost quicker, the Credit System has been Carried to a greater extent — and the general result will be Bankruptcy — they are not only Crying hard times *here*, but it is all through the State a general *whine* — 'The waters are troubled,' the Old Ship California begins to tremble—dark Clouds are gathering over us with a heavy Sea on, the Curtains of night closeing around us, and Ere the day dawns upon us the Wreck will be complete — She May survive this shock, but another is sure to follow — this is but a commencement, "the End is not Yet" "Coming Events Cast their Shadows before—"

The Miners are in debt to the Country Merchants, Country Merchants are in debt to the City Merchants, Our City Merchants are in debt to the Eastern Cities — and as *usual, all* are expecting the money from the *Honest* Miners, and I firmly believe that Every dollar that is dug *now* from the Earth *on an Average* Costs a dollar, Our Government is to be supported — (and You are aware that it takes *some* to do that) — Robbers, Thieves, Loafers, Lawyers, Doctors, *Preachers, — in fact* Nuisances of all Kinds and God knows this country is burthened with them are to be supported by the Miners, the whole Machinery is to be Kept in Motion by them — and they poor devils — (*to use* their *Own* phrase) "Can't make Grub"— taking all in Consideration, think You it requires a Prophet, or the son of a prophet, to foretell what is to Come? — but enough of this to one that knows California —

Murder is as Common as ever here, about 2 weeks Since 2 Men quarrel'd about a claim in Coon Hollow and One shot the Other dead on the spot — Yesterday 2 Others Came in Contact, One of them had his head Chopp'd off with an ax, the Murderer is on Trial to day before Esq Doyl, making 4 Murders that has taken place in Coon Hollow and vicinity in about 6 weeks.

Tom Ashton a Gambler in this place, has been sent to the States Prison for attempting to kill a Jew, and not doing it — Our Old Dutch Doct. Smith is in Jail for Bigamy — he Married a short time since here, the same week his wife and Daughter Came from the States to Pay him a Visit — think the Morals of Our town has improve'd any since You left?— Send on Your Missionaries, More Labourers wanted in Gods Vine-Yard — Aunt Phebe is ——— well, *Pappa* Spects, has been stopping with her for Some time — She writes to You by this Mail — Greeves Says that he is agoing to send you a letter by this mail Higgins didn't make twice on the Plains, and does not go on the Ranch with greeve, he will give You the particulars — the Boys are all about here yet — except George, Harrison, and Jim, they are down to Rancharea, have not heard from them for some time Joe, & Cap, are on Cedar Yet, all Well — My health is good — while *You* are enjoying the pleasure's of home and Good Society, Think of us in Your Spare Moments, — "dwellers in a Heathen Land, and a far off" The pleasures of Home, with the Virtuous, the Fair, the Modest and Good — how Sweet the remembrance — although recollections of the past brings upon us Melancholly feelings at times, Yet the *Hope* of visiting Once More Our Native Land, arouses Our drooping Spirits

If You Should Chanc to see any of my acquaintance in the Empire City or elsewhere give them my Respects — I am very much obliged to You for the Letter You wrote me — and hope You will continue *doing so*

I intend Leaveing here early in the Spring as possible — or as soon as I Can Collect what is due Me — it is growing late and I Must Close

Yours with the Greatest Respect

W. S. Newman

Jan 11th this morning it Rains — Good — I expect ere this, You have been spliced to Your Better Half — If so I must remind You of that selection You agreed to Make for Me

Good Bye

IX

[Portion of Letter from Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long and His Wife, December, 1854, or January, 1855]

. . . I have taken her to a number of parties and Ball's and had many a long ride and walk and all of these other little things you know, but that is all it amounts to on my part; whilst you were escorting Miss Fannie oer the plains of old Dutchess in your carriage I was jogging along with *Miss America* over the hill's and through the brush of the mines, on mule's for a treat and often afoot for the sheer want of better accommodations, and whilst you were luxuriating upon your sofa's &c I was compelled for want of better to sit on a stool or the bed in her house which was or is one end of her *Fathers Saw Mill* ha, ha ha — Fannie how do you like the picture of my *courtship* did you and Jim cut up any such rustys as that What do you think of taking a young Lady to a Ball two or three miles on foot and returning in the dark through the woods without any road, walking logs over creeks, jumping ditches &c and the candle *accidentally blown out*, ha ha Your Brother Charlie, Fannie, is fast going the way of destructions the boys are all down on him for making love to *the girls from the prairies* but can't help it, it *runs in the family don't you believe it*! . . . there has been some girls here to day visiting the land lady and they have been at me until I hardly know what I am writing about, they say I am writing to some young girl in the States so that when I throw the Goddess off I can find more game there and all such things as these therefore you must excuse any little unconnectedness that may be in this and also for all little extravaganza's or stretches of imagination that may appear; . . . My claim in Camptonville is in statu quo, taking all of my cash, and paying nothing and probably will not for six months to come we are running a tunnel through solid rock, I can sell for $1800— $1000—cash and the rest when it comes out but do not want to I mean to see it through I do not owe anyone a cent on it and can push it through and when once done it will be noble property and no mistake this with my office is my prospects by next fall after election I will know whether I can get the office any longer or not and by that time my claim will be in a shape so that I can tell something about it, therefore defer your Iowa trip until farther information from me is received I do not go nary cent on it any way it is as cold as fury out there, clear out of the world, with nothing to see or have but the fever and ague, pitch in and I will and we will together make some money in the end and buy a good nice home in old Dutchess and then I will come and live with you, as soon as I get some money ahead that I can spare I will send you some, for now I begin to think you are settled down and mean to be steady and will take better care of it than I will.

Now I will close just for spite

From Your Brother

C. E. De Long

X

[Portion of Letter, Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Foster's Bar, August 21, 1855]

Dear Brother,

For many mail's now I have received no letter from you nor any one else and I have been so confounded busy that I have not written many but now I will write you a good one and I hope you will forgive me as I send you a poorly taken daugerreotype and some papers also, containing some communications from me I expect there will be more said and maybe done ere the Election on the 5th times are hot and I cannot help getting mixed up a little with them . . . I am doing very well and if the Democratic ticket is elected I have my old berth which will pay me well for two years to come and maybe I may come home this winter and spend a month or two when business is dull with me here at all events I will if I can; I have a little trouble with business once in a while but nothing serious and I hope I will not, but the K[now] N[othing]s are down on the Sheriff of this County and his deputies like bricks I tell you; out of the lot, 5 in number, 3 of them are under indictment for shooting K. N's this I presume you will think full steep but in every case they defended themselves I assure you, I am in hopes they will let me alone for I *am afraid the rest of us wont be in such good luck*. I am on foot all the time travvelling from one end of the County to another collecting Taxes of Foreigner's and any one that think's it is fun will alter their minds after trying it once . . . I am bound to have some money within a year from now and if you have not quite so much now as you may want I will give you some when I get it, I have a better show to make some now than I ever had in this country if I get beat, thanks to my office I have got acquainted with almost every one in the County and after filling this office with trust which I assure you is considered honorable and trustworthy by every one, I will have no trouble in getting into something that will pay me; I have no time to write much more I send you some Goodyear Bar gold taken by me from a Chinaman for Tax, keep it for old acquaintance. With this I must close. I hope soon to hear that the *Gallic nobility have an heir to their noble name*

Charley

XI

[Portion of a Letter from Charles E. De Long, Foster's Bar, September 16, 1855, to James R. De Long]

Dear Brother

. . . I have been confined to my bed for some days with a violent fever, however I have now entirely recovered, by having the best of attention from the Land Lady and all the boarder's who were extremely kind to me, throughout it all; . . . Our Election is over and the [Know Nothings] have rooted us hip and thigh in County and State, so you see my term of office is about expired I do not know exactly what I shall go at but I think some of going to San Juan and opening a livery stable with a Canadian who is just commencing there, he wants me to go in with him very much, he has always been in the business, is a good business man but has no education but will furnish the majority of the capital, and I think the business will pay well, but it is all uncertain as yet what I will do, I will keep you informed however, from time to time of my proceedings, another man offered to establish a Store for me and I cannot tell yet which to take hold of. G E Noxon made his appearance this morning purporting to have come from Grass Valley which is just burned up he says he lost all his clothes, he looks broke and I expect he is, I expect he has come to soger on me again but in that he is mistaken sure, I have not seen or heard from him before in the last 7 months and was most sincerely in hopes of finding him the next time I saw him in a different fix from the one he is in . . .

XII

[Charles E. De Long to His Wife, from Virginia City, Nevada Territory, August 24, 1863]

Dear Sis [Elida],

. . . all is well here and as prosperous as I could desire. — I received a telegraph dispatch from you on yesterday too late to answer it the same day so I answered it this morning and kissed baby by telegraph . . . I reckon that was the first kiss ever sent over the mountains by lightning. Since my arrival here I have been feeling in first rate health, better by far than I did before when I was here. I have fine offices, real nice ones and so many buildings are going up where pleasant rooms might be obtained that for the last few days I have really found myself on several occasions meditating upon the arrangements necessary to make you and baby comfortable over here. All I am afraid of is baby's health for this is really a very severe climate on children and especially so in winter; but we will see. It is rumored that we will have no court here next month, and perhaps not this fall, if not in about a month I will make you another visit and roll in clover with baby . . . And it does seem so very strange to me too to think that we have a live baby, that you are a Mother and I a Father! why Lide it is but yesterday when we thought we were too young to think of getting married. Indeed it all seems like a dream to me.

Now Dearest, to show you how my time is employed, I was stopped at the above line by some men who came in on business and although now late in the evening I have since I stopped attended a meeting of the Double Eagle Mining Company held in my office, taken a deposition in the Potosi mining case and done considerable other business.

I am pleased to hear that Langton & Bros agent is so accommodating you must send over to their office and get some envelopes and, we will write by that express . . . you are both mirrored in every hope of my soul . . . and oh how willingly and cheerfully now I labor for you God grant that no misfortune may be mine before I place both of you far above and beyond pecuniary want and if good luck should attend me and health be mine I will see the time when we can indeed feel proud of each other and know that our child will be proud of us . . .

Your Husband

C E De Long

XIII

[Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Virginia City, September 2, 1863]

Dear Brother,

. . . I knew you must have been in the battle of Gettysburgh and having heard nothing from you in so long a time I feared the worst. But thank God you still live . . . in time to come we will sit together by our firesides amidst our families and all will listen whilst you recount your past history of toil privation and danger endured whilst you were one of the grand *armee*, that struggled to save the legacy of liberty — that our forefathers won . . . Do not let your heart sink at the thought that you have no money all I have is as freely yours as mine. I think I have a certain fortune ahead of me, in this country it is the wildest one for law that you ever heard of, indeed it is a lawyer's paradise, and I have a very good reputation and have in the short time that I have been here become engaged in some most important cases. When these Silver mining companies get at law millions are often involved and of course their money flows freely. But a man's expenses

are enormous mine does not fall one cent short of five hundred dollars cash every month, and you know it requires money to support an outlay of that nature. Indeed Brother this is a mining country, much more extravagant in its proportions than California ever was; some claims here for instance such as the Spanish, Gould & Curry and Ophir, are worth from six to eight and ten thousand dollars per foot and hundreds of feet in each claim. The Potosi Company for whom I am engaged as a Counsel with six or seven more lawyers had fourteen hundred feet in their claim and it is worth cash in San Francisco from nine to ten hundred dollars per foot and there are three or four outstanding titles claiming it at that. This will give you some idea of this place. All over these barren mountains wherever there is a cliff of rocks found protruding from the surface men are engaged in mining tunnells and sinking shafts, and every day or two some company strikes a ledge, of rich silver bearing quartz and then away goes up the stock, to hundreds of dollars a foot and the telegraph speaks to all parts of California and men that are posted buy up stock of others who have not heard the news, and thus fortunes are made and lost in an hour. Then comes some old trumped up title to this newly discovered mine and into law the whole thing plunges and lawyers are busy hunting up witnesses. And this is inevitably the case for if there is no outstanding title one will be trumped up and a suit commenced in order to depreciate the value of the claim, and then speculators buy in whilst it is low, perhaps the very men who started the suit through their agents. — there is not a good claim in the Territory that is not in law with only one exception and that is the Mexican mine in which this [there] is only two hundred feet, not a foot of which could be purchased to day for twelve thousand dollars per foot. The country is filled with Quartz Mills, their whistles wildly screaming arousing a thousand echoes amidst these wild solitudes. Wood costs us here eighteen and twenty dollars per cord and everything else in proportion.

Since I wrote to you Dear Brother my wife has had a child, a little daughter which I have named Helen Taber, after Aunt Helen, it is a fine healthy child and I think oh so much so very much of it. I tell you I am a proud and happy man over that circumstance they are my world and my heaven, but I am made miserable by my separation from them. They are at Marysville and I here over a hundred miles away. I would not bring them here with me the country is so rough and the accomodations so poor. Now if your family was only with them how nice and cozy they would all be. I have a beautiful home in Marysville — a fine brick house and stable two full sized lots 80 by 160 feet each, filled with the choicest kind of vines fruits and flowers. A perfect little Eden, where any day now a man can go out and gather bushel baskets full of nectarines, Apricots, pears, apples, plums, peaches and figs, a dozen varieties of grapes and in season Strawberries and blackberries, and everything of that sort. Oh I tell you Jim it is a sweet home to be exiled from but the country is too dull for a man of my profession to afford to live in, but here here is fortune with no pleasures and I am now toiling for that with every energy of my soul for when you leave the wars I want to be worth enough to set you in business here without distressing myself and see you and your family and myself and family all happy and independent so let no sorrow shroud your heart because you are poor for I tell you if my life is spared I will snatch money enough from out of this sage brush to place us all beyond want and whatever I get is as much yours as mine, at least as far as use is concerned.

. . . My wife's Father, Senator Vineyard of Los Angeles died suddenly a day or two since and I expect my poor wife is distressed to death about it I have not heard from her since I heard of the event, poor old man, he was a second Father to me and loved me as I did him most devotedly, his loss is a great one to his family, and my poor dear wife I know will almost die of grief. If I could only be with her now to comfort her I should be most glad but fate wills otherwise.

Brother do you know I have come near joining the army several times? nothing but my family prevents it but I assure you I feel very much ashamed at times to think that I am lying idle at this hour of our country's peril, but so it is, and the time will come when I know that I shall regret my present inaction. But I now think that it will not be long before the worst of it will be over with . . . We of the Pacific watch and praise you. in your misfortunes we sorrow in your successes we rejoice. The glorious army of the Potomac has redeemed its honor; For some time past before the battle of Gettysburgh western men here were beginning to twit Eastern men that they could not fight and pointed to the successes in the West and the reverses in the East, but since then I have heard no more such remarks, from neither the Western men nor the Chivs . . .

Your Brother

C E De Long

To Mr James R. De Long Washington D. C.
150th N Y Volunteers. Co G Twelfth Army Corps

XIV

[Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Virginia City, February 22, 1864]

Dear Brother

. . . I praise God in my heart to know that the vicissitudes of war still leave my only Brother living and well. Well Brother I have long since fully recovered from my sickness and am now as hearty and strong as I ever was indeed I now weigh several pounds more than I ever did before in my life, I weighed myself yesterday and I now weigh one hundred and thirty-five pounds so you see I am still the little fellow that you knew me.

To day is the anniversary of the birth day of our Country's Father the illustrious Washington. The City is alive with flags, drums beat and military companies are parading the streets, we have three fine companies of our own here — two from adjacent towns and the volunteers from Fort Churchill, altogether making about one thousand men, far more than hundreds of us here ever saw review before; how it would astonish the natives here to see the Army of the Cumberland pass in review. I would much like to see such a sight myself but never expect to as the claims of fortune making chain me now and will for some years to come chain me like a slave to the barren soil of Nevada. But one of these days when I have got enough so that I feel assured you and I and our families are independent then I think I will move around a little and try and see some of the great world myself. My wife and child are both here well, yesterday I moved into a little house I have just bought, and now we are snug and comfortable in our new quarters although not so elegantly situated as we were in our fine Marysville home, which I still own and occasionally visit although but rarely. My wife's brother and his family [the Whitesides] are living there now and I assure you the contrast is very great between living here and there, but our little home here though is neat and pretty, I bought it of a family all fixed and furnished it has three bed rooms, kitchen &c a nice sitting room with a great old fashioned fire place in it, and a parlour neatly furnished with a nice piano &c in that, so you see we do not live even here like heathens. I only wish that you and your folks were living in my Marysville home there would be just about business enough there for you to do in taking charge of the yard and garden when every flower and fruit would be at your hand, and as it is I let it rent free in order to get it well taken care of intending at some future time to return there and live.

Do not think Brother of reenlisting. Serve your time out, and then with your family come here. I will by that time have enough for us both. Serve your Country well, leave her service with honor and if possible with some mark of your country's favor, leave it a man in soul, in bearing and in character and you shall find within my home that rest and welcome which you will so richly deserve. Discharge your mind brother from all cares for the future about having a home and money, I am situated so that I can assure you what I freely offer you a happy home and a good business for a livelihood.

23d Well Brother, I was interrupted yesterday so I will finish this letter now. Brother you ask me for my political views. I have but few any way they could be summed up in this I am in favor of putting down this rebellion at any cost of time or money, and in favor of using all legitimate means to attain that end.— The question of what is or what is not legitimate I am also not very particular about.—I with you was a believer in the military genius of McLellan and regretted much and do still that he was removed. I also thought and still think that this rebellion should have been met and fought as an insurrection on a smaller scale is put down, viz. respect all rights of persons to their lives liberties and property who were not found or proven to have been actually engaged in the insurrection or who being found so engaged could satisfactorily show that they were constrained by force into such action. Had our armies from the first so advanced conquering *and protecting*, I do not believe that the insurrection could have sustained itself until now, for the want of unity amongst the Southern people, for I cannot believe that the masses when they saw that the purpose of invasion was solely to maintain that Constitution, that flag and those laws adopted by their forefathers as well as our own and under which they had lived for years without complaint, could have been induced by the leaders to have endured the sufferings and horrors now entailed upon them. But it is too late now to consider these things We must deal with facts and circumstances *as they are* rather than as we might wish them to be. Our Governmental policy has been shaped in the course it has. We are in the midst of a war from which there is no honorable escape but with complete and final victory. Dealing then with facts as they exist, I should now favor arming the negroes, freeing them as fast as found for I have no confidence any longer in the loyalty of any but a very few Southern men, and they are those who have turned for purposes of vengeance against the rebel cause. . . . I am in favor of freeing them because from a careful consideration of the causes that led to this rebellion I am forced to conclude that between the two systems of labor there is as expressed by Seward an irrepressible conflict. Slavery begets in any country a species of aristocracy, free labor begets democracy of

habit. . . . These two systems in one Government are hostile and no government can long stand I now believe that has the two systems within its self especially when that Government is divided by geographical lines dividing one system from the other. . . . Was our country all a warm cotton and rice producing country then I should be in favor of slavery as an institution. On the contrary, was our country all like the northern states are as respects soil and climate then I should be opposed to the existence of slavery at all, but situated as it is, being unwilling to see the country divided I am in favor of the greater interest controlling the lesser, they being unable and seemingly incapable of existing cordially in one Government on the basis of each section controlling its own affairs. . . .

Gordon N. Mott our Delegate to Congress has promised me to use his influence to obtain promotion for you. I expect ere this you have heard from him you may expect to every day as he is a warm friend of mine. I think I will also write to Senator Conness of California with whom however I am not on very good terms personally, but heretofore he has been necessitated to ask at my hands some favors when I held office and he did not, and I do not consider that I will be humbling myself now any more to ask of him than he did of me. Our estrangement arose out of politics he was a candidate for Governor and I for Congress a few years ago before the same Convention. My delegation would not all go for him and I could not control them to do so although I done all I could to do so; but he believed that I allowed them to divide without trying to unite them and he in turn turned his delegation against me after promising that he would not do so. He was nominated and I was defeated, or rather I declined fearing a defeat but got one hundred and seventy-five votes in the Convention even after I had positively declined, and would then I believe have been nominated but for his work against me. He was defeated for Governor, but the same year I ran and was elected State Senator, he had to come down and ask some favors at my hands, and now for your sake I propose to come down a little and ask some at his. I think he will do what he can . . .

Your Brother

C E De Long

To James R De Long, Co G. 150th N Y Regiment 12th Army Corps
Army of the Cumberland

XV

[Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Virginia City, December 28, 1865]

Dear Brother

. . . I have had an accumulation of misfortunes overreach me since I last wrote. My Darling little boy died about a month since and our home and hearts are all gloom. A monetary panic has swept like a simoon over this coast carrying financial ruin to a thousand households and in the storm all I had came near going but has not yet gone I have lived through it and hope to come out all right although the clouds have not as yet all cleared away. a month or so more will tell the story, at the end of which time I will be in easy circumstances or once more ruined. This is life in a mining country with ones all invested in mines which to day give rich yields and to-morrow promise perfect failures, so that the public becomes alarmed and property of this nature cannot be sold at any price.

Brother in your letter you mention one whose very image has a place in my heart as the little girlish blackeyed angel of my earliest dreams; Mary Dickens. She was my first little sweet heart . . . Thoughts of her have through life come to me pure and sweet, bearing me back to those childish days with a pleasure that one feels in the morning reflections of a most happy dream. Tell her this, and tell her that I love her memory; and as I write I seem again to be her little boy gallant at school striving to do some little thing to win her smile. May God Bless her.

. . . Give my undying love to Father and Polly and believe me I am your loving Brother

C E De Long

J R De Long
Poughquag
Dutchess Co, N Y

XVI

[Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Yokohama, Japan, March 8, 1870]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Legation Head Quarters.
Yokahama Japan, March 8, 1870.

Dear Brother

. . . I most entirely approve of your ideas and those of Williams in getting up and getting out of that old nook in the world where we all happened to be born. . . . There is no margin in such a Country as that for a man's purse or mind ever to find enlargement.

. . . In the great west a man finds a chance to do something on every side of him. Poverty there is neither a sin nor a crime. As a man's steers and grain grow his lands also grow in value and he gets some gain occasionally that he does not have to labor for . . . I am leading a new kind of a life to me here but I am doing and will do all I can to achieve good for my Government and reputation for myself. — Love to all

Your Brother in Love

C E De Long

XVII

[Charles E. De Long to Elida, from Virginia City, January 31, 1875]

My Own Darling

Your two letters received enclosing Lillie's sweet little gift and Mr Ralstons note . . . I am a little sorry you wrote to Ralston, and not specially pleased with his answer — Dam these monied aristocrats, they have no hearts no gallantry. Do not again place yourself in the position of asking any favors. I have resolved not to and by this decision I mean to abide. . . .

I fear that this whole Ophir job was put up by Sharon and that he cruelly and wickedly advised his friends to buy and to keep buying and to hold when he himself was selling and that he then as wickedly as sin contributed all in his power to smash the market, thus getting his stock sold for 250 & 300 back at from 90 to 150. If this is true the man is a demon and deserves destruction. The mine its self I think is looking first rate but I fear it will not reach 200 or 250 again until some disclosure of an east body of ore is made in the drift on the 1700 foot level, which will take from 15 to 20 days — I think probably there will be a move in Savage & Hale & Norcross before long. I advise you to sell your Baltimore Kentuck & similar things for what you can get and buy a little Savage or Hale & Norcross and do not wait. I am tied up and cannot move, because the certainty of loss I would make in selling Ophir now is much more than the guarantie of winning by changing stocks. . . . Doctor Hiller . . . slapped me on the shoulder & said De Long you have an idol in that boy any man might worship. . . . Tell my Darling Pets that I am coming again to see them all, kiss & love them for me, be of good heart. . . . Look up, keep a stiff upper lip. Thank God for what blessings we have and treat the devil with contempt as a fellow we cannot concilliate. Your devoted Husband

Charlie.

Mrs C E De Long
42 Hawthorne St
San Francisco, Cali

XVIII

[Charles E. De Long to James R. De Long, from Virginia City, May 1, 1875]

My Own Dear Brother

. . . The business trials and disappointments of the last few months [have] engrossed me very completely and beyond this I fear [have] served to make me a little morose and misanthropic — It rarely happens that a man sees an easy fortune glide into his hands and out of them again as rapidly as I have done.

But do not infer Dear Brother that I am crushed or that I have lost my spirit and hope. I have fought gallantly in the battle of life and I mean when I fall to die with my harness on. — I am working like a trojan; trying to gather up the wreck of my shattered fortunes and build up a practice and a business in my profession . . . When fortune again smiles upon me *as I will make her smile* (for she is the bond slave of effort) I will again assist you. Just now I cannot do it; . . . I am here; my family in San Francisco, I rarely ever see my babies and they are growing up strangers to my thoughts and counsels . . .

. . . Some day when you little think of it I will drop in upon you to spend a week and we will again be boys together beneath the maple shade. . . .

I remain as ever —

Your Devoted Brother

Charlie

SPURIOUS CALIFORNIANA

"FOUR MONTHS AMONG THE GOLD-FINDERS"

Henry Vizetelly's Confession to an Astounding Literary Hoax

Many collectors pride themselves upon possession of books relating to California, which, as the catalogues of western booksellers usually note, are "in Cowan," meaning that the work in question is included in that priceless Bibliography that Mr. Robert E. Cowan has given us under the title of: "A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West, 1510—1906," published by the Book Club of California, San Francisco, 1914.

Among the thousand and more items which Mr. Cowan describes may be found the following:

"Brooks, J. Tyrwhitt: Four months among the gold-finders in Alta California; being the diary of an expedition from San Francisco to the gold districts."

In describing the above book Mr. Cowan says that it is "one of the first works to give the results of actual experience in working in the newly discovered gold region. His party of five accumulated more than one hundred pounds of gold, but unfortunately they were relieved of the greater part of it by equally enterprising highwaymen."

The copy of Brooks before Mr. Cowan was an American reprint issued by D. Appleton & Company of New York at 200 Broadway, and in Philadelphia at 164 Chestnut Street by Geo. S. Appleton in MDCCCXLIX. 94pp. Map. 8vo.

Many Californiana collectors who read as well as collect the choice items available have been bothered when studying the Brooks book by trying to reconcile the statements therein made with what they have theretofore learned regarding San Francisco's early days. In vain they have sought for the location of a hotel which Brooks speaks of as "Sweeting's." A certain Mr. Bradley, a friend of Captain Fulsom (sic), who had been a resident of California for more than eight years before 1848, nowhere appears in Bancroft's Pioneer Register. And the Farallones, spelled "Faranolles" in Chapter I, have a totally unfamiliar look which should arouse the reader's suspicions. There are many more instances of such danger signals which the critical reader will discover in this interesting diary, but enough have been indicated to serve the purpose, viz: that internal evidence is the best evidence when judiciously presented.

In London in the year 1893 there appeared under the imprint of the publishing house of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., two volumes with the title, "Glances Back Through Seventy Years," from the pen of the world-known writer, Henry Vizetelly. This autobiography is replete with interesting contacts, for Vizetelly lived through many exciting years and met and knew many outstanding people; but to Californians and collectors of Californiana that part of the work dealing with the publication of J. Tyrwhitt Brooks' diary is astounding.

The following with quotations is an abridgement of Vizetelly's amazing confession:

Vizetelly Brothers & Co. were printers and engravers in Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, London. David Bogue was a bookseller and printer, likewise of Fleet Street, and the latter and Henry Vizetelly were the best of friends. The inception of the conspiracy may be dated as early as January, 1849, for reasons which will appear later. Into Vizetelly's hands had come a copy of Frémont's narrative of his exploring expedition, and to him likewise had come the idea of a book regarding the discovery of gold in California. To Bogue he opened his heart and the two agreed that a small volume such as they had talked of would sell. They also agreed that such profits as might result from the venture should be divided upon a fifty-fifty basis. With that encouragement Vizetelly plunged into the task. Only his evenings were available, and he had remarked boastingly that he could dash off the contemplated effort easily in a matter of ten days. He accomplished the "tour de force" in the alloted time, and in his autobiography, referring to the book as his "fictitious narrative to the new Tom Tiddler's ground," he confesses that it was a "tougher task than I anticipated."

Between the author and Bogue "it was settled that the greatest secrecy was to be observed in regard to the deception about to be practiced on a confiding public." As each chapter was completed it was taken to a law stationer, there to be legibly copied and thus hide the writer from discovery which his handwriting might disclose. When the work was finished in manuscript it was sent to an address in the country, arranged for by Bogue, and from thence returned to London. In the presence of Bogue's office assistants the package was opened, and only then was Vizetelly sent for. His opinion was desired upon the availability of the manuscript, and when that was given, the question of printing the book was broached. Vizetelly hazarded the opinion that the book could be printed by his house in ten days, and Bogue gave him the order on the spot.

At length the manufactured adventures of the mythical gold-hunter saw the light of day, and Vizetelly avers that, "the reviewers received the impudent imposter, I grieve to say, with open arms."

The mighty *London Times* hailed the completed work with almost un-English enthusiasm, devoting three of its precious columns to its excellencies. Said the "Thunderer" of April 11, 1849:

> Here is a gentleman who knows all about it! A live Englishman who has set foot in the diggings, has had his hand in the washings, has scratched for the dust till his back ached, has picked up lumps as big as your fist without any labour at all, has made his fortune like a "stag"* and lost his donkey, and in fact gone through a regular Californian experience in less than no time at all.

The *Times* continued:

> We are by no means sorry to take J. Tyrwhitt Brooks, M.D., by the button for ten minutes and to hear from his own lips a veritable account of the mystery . . . . . a few pages tell the whole business. The doctor was not long, as the title of his volume indicates, in California. . . . He leaves El Dorado as poor as he went, and

*In the then slang parlance of the street a stag was one who dabbled in newly issued railway shares.

> comes away by no means elated with his adventures. . . . Reader, why should you journey over sea and mountain, through difficulty, danger, heat, vexation, and trouble to achieve the same foolish and unprofitable purpose?

The staid *Quarterly Review* took the book as a subject for a sermon about the closing of the Post Office on Sunday because one of Vizetelly's characters refused to dig gold on the Sabbath, and thereby pointed a moral.

And the *Athenaeum* in its issue of February 17, 1849, gave the doings of Vizetelly's gold finders no less than six columns!

Here was a success far beyond the dreams of the conspirators. Hayden's *Dictionary of Dates* copied in its next issue the description of the actual discovery of gold by James W. Marshall as told to the convenient Brooks, and the book itself hastened to the Continent and to America to be printed in many editions.

A later repercussion is worth noting. Vizetelly in describing Captain Johann August Sutter gave him a slight facial scar as a prominent feature. On page 34 of the second London edition of the book you will find:

> Bradley informed me tonight of the origin of the scar which is just distinguishable in Captain Sutter's face. It seems that the Captain, who is Swiss, was one of Charles the Tenth's guards in 1830, and that a slight cut from the sabre of one of the youths of the Polytechnic School had left his vizage a standing memorial of the glorious three days. Indeed the Captain seems generally to have taken the side of the constituted authorities. . . .

One of Vizetelly's many readers of his spurious item of Californiana happened to visit Sutter some years after the book was published and was surprised to find that the scar was as mythical as the doughty lord of New Helvetia's military service in France. The work in question was brought forth, and read to the man who had planted the seeds of civilization in the wildernesses of the Sacramento. Says Vizetelly in commenting on this occurrence, "Sutter indignantly repudiated the authenticity of my narrative."

While Vizetelly confesses to the use of Frémont's narrative as his source, it is more than likely that he also had before him a copy of Colonel Mason's famous report. This report was given to the Congress in the first week in December, 1848, by President Polk, and between that time and a month before the first review of the Gold Finders appeared—that in the *Athenaeum* of February 17, 1848 — or January 17, it would have been possible for a copy of the Mason report to have reached London. Internal evidence would lead one to suspect that such was the case.

Four Months Among the Gold-Finders may have lost its historical value by reason of the Vizetelly autobiography, but as the most brazen of all literary forgeries it will ever remain an item of Californiana to be cherished.

Mr. Cowan has the satisfaction of being in the best of company. Bancroft listed J. Tyrwhitt Brooks as one of his authorities and even the British Museum regarded the work as authentic and so labeled it; likewise it is included in Allibone's *Dictionary of English Literature,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1908; and in its catalogue of "Americana" dated 1932 the well-known house of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, of London, offers a copy of presumably the first

edition at the price of £5, 5s, and quotes Mr. Cowan's comments, quite evidently being completely oblivious of Vizetelly's confession.

DOUGLAS S. WATSON.*

*On receipt of the above article, the editor of this *Quarterly* sent the manuscript to Mr. Cowan for his comments. His letter follows:

> The exceptions noted by Mr. Watson with reference to Brooks' "Four months among the gold-finders" are quite pertinent. In 1914, when my note was written I had not known of Vizetelly's complication, nor, as it would appear, had any other bibliographer. The facts came to my notice some years subsequently.
>
> Beyond the admission of the statement of Vizetelly with reference to authorship, there is but little to be altered. Vizetelly's own statement leaves no doubt as to the general sources of his facts concerning the history, topography and description of California, for he used freely the official report of Mason, and the narratives of Frémont. The discrepancies in personal and local names mean little, for there is a bewildering profusion of such in almost every work of that period. Phonetic spelling was a popular diversion then, as it is now. John Henry Brown, who lived in San Francisco in those days, wrote a book entitled " 'The early days' of San Francisco." It is a reputable little work, but Mr. Brown's presentation of most of the proper names is truly ghastly, and among them he too also refers to "Fulsom."
>
> Despite the fact that as a narrative the Vizetelly-Bogue book is entirely fictitious, its historical properties are still more nearly accurate than three-fourths of all the similar works of contemporary writers who actually may have visited the gold diggings.

THE HISTORY OF A MONTGOMERY STREET LOT IN YERBA BUENA FROM NOVEMBER 4, 1837, TO JUNE 14, 1850

Eleven months after Captain William A. Richardson had founded the town of Yerba Buena which was destined to grow into the city of San Francisco, and in June, 1835, had built its first house, Jacob Primer Leese received a grant of land adjoining Richardson's home and erected the town's second house. Leese was an American but had become a Mexican citizen. The lot upon which he built in July, 1836, was 100 varas square (275x275 feet) and occupied the site of the present southwest corner of Grant Avenue and Clay Street.

At the time of laying out the town, a government reserve 200 varas (550 feet) in width was established. This was measured from the shore line of the bay, and it was for this reason that both Richardson and Leese were forced to build so far from the water. The purpose of this reservation was to prevent smuggling, so it was said.

The inconvenience of doing business so far from the shore induced Leese to approach Governor Juan B. Alvarado with a view of overcoming this difficulty. Family influence may have been brought to bear, for Leese had married Rosalia Vallejo, sister of General M. G. Vallejo. Mrs. Leese and General Vallejo were the governor's aunt and uncle.

Leese was successful in overcoming governmental objections to waterside building operations. Alvarado granted him 100 varas of land fronting upon the then unnamed Montgomery Street between today's Clay and Sacramento Streets. A translation from the Spanish of the receipt given Leese at the time of his taking possession of the land follows:

Yerba Buena,
November 4, 1837.

Received of Mr. Jacob P. Leese the sum of Twenty-five Dollars for the measurement of one hundred varas on the banks of the shore, as disposed by Governor Don Juan B. Alvarado. The said one hundred varas is measured as one hundred varas on each side.

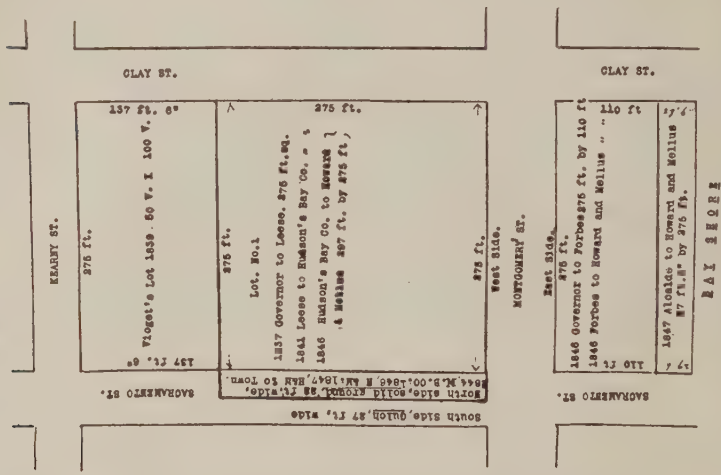
Blas Angelino,
Syndico.

Leese erected a frame house and adobe outbuildings on the lot at about where today's Commercial and Montgomery Streets intersect. The main structure was part store, part dwelling. It was erected in May, 1838, and was the first house on Montgomery Street.

On September 9, 1841, Leese sold his Montgomery Street property for $4,600 to the Hudson's Bay Company of which William Glen Rae was the local representative. At the time of the Hudson Bay Company's arrival in Yerba Buena a deep gulch occupied the south half of what was later called Howard Street, today's Sacramento Street. Down this gulch ran a small stream which flowed into a fresh water pond called "Laguna Dulce." In 1839 Captain J. J. Vioget had surveyed the streets and lots lying between today's California, Montgomery, Grant Avenue and Pacific Streets, and had accurately marked all the

lots at their corners with wooden pegs. The northern half of Sacramento Street was then solid ground.

Rae was quick to note this, and realized that he alone could utilize the strip between the southern boundary of his property and the gulch above described. In 1842 he constructed a frame "hide house" upon the strip, 22 feet in frontage on Montgomery Street with a depth of 40 feet. This building was entirely in a public street.



In November, 1843, another survey of Yerba Buena was made. It gave rise to the following correspondence between Rae and Governor Micheltorena:

To the Most Excellent
Don Manuel Micheltorena,
Comandante General and
Governor of the Department,
in Monterey.

Most Excellent Sir:

The undersigned, a resident of Yerba Buena in San Francisco comes before Your Excellency with due respect, and in due form represents and states: That by the latest regulation and measurement made of lots in this town, I have discovered that by an involuntary error [sic] there was measured 8 varas [22 feet] more on my lot in front of the beach than should have been, before I took possession thereof and as I had constructed a "fabrick" thereon before finding out the mistake, in the excess of varas, the result is that should I be compelled to abandon the "fabrick" entirely and to alter the fence it would necessarily cause me to suffer much injury . . .

My lot is marked Number One, bought from Jacob P. Leese, September 9, 1841. On the construction of the street, a convenient width would still be left.

Wherefore I request Your Excellency to order that I may have the corresponding lot for which I will pay with pleasure.

Your Excellency will please forward me a title to said land by which I shall receive a marked favor . . .

W. G. Rae.

Yerba Buena,
December 6, 1843.

This document bears the endorsement:

Referred to the proper authority in Yerba Buena.
Monterey, January 2, 1844.

MICHELTORENA,
Governor.

William Sturgis Hinckley, American born but a naturalized citizen of Mexico, was Alcalde at Yerba Buena at the time. Upon receipt of Rae's letter (which he probably composed) with Micheltorena's endorsement, he took such steps as the occasion required, and wrote the governor as follows:

First Court of San Francisco,
January 16, 1844.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

In compliance with the Superior decree of Your Excellency, dated the 2nd. inst., which is to be seen upon the margin of this application, I should say that I have examined the lot of which reference is made therein, and in effect there appears to be an excess of eight varas frontage. This was done by an involuntary error of the Surveyor [!] in the measurement by reason, more or less of the elasticity of the cord with which it was measured. I am satisfied of the same by the New Map that has been made for the formation of streets.

It appears to me as though it would be prudent and just in order to avoid injury to the factory of the gentleman.

Mr. Rae will also satisfy the Municipal Fund with the corresponding fee for the above mentioned excess.

I think no injury could arise therefrom to the town, nor will the streets be interfered with according to the last plan.

Notwithstanding his rights (Rae's) I refer the matter to Your Excellency in order that you may dispose of it as may be convenient.

WILLIAM HINCKLEY,
Alcalde.

The above is endorsed:

Monterey, February 9, 1844.
Return to the Justice in order that he may proceed according to information.
MICHELTORENA.

The matter was settled by the payment by Rae of two dollars, for which he received land measuring eight by one hundred varas. Based upon the 22 feet of Montgomery Street frontage, this brought the front foot price to nine cents.

The "elastic cord" spoken of by Hinckley in his letter to Micheltorena warrants a word of explanation. The device used was a braided rawhide reata 137½ feet, or 50 varas, in length. This was marked or graduated and served the same purpose as the modern surveyor's chain, and was as incapable of stretching.

Following the suicide of William Glen Rae in 1845, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to withdraw from Yerba Buena and California, and sold the Montgomery Street property to Mellus and Howard for $5,000, July 18, 1846.

To Ana Maria Galindo de Forbes, wife of British Vice-Consul James A. Forbes, Governor Pio Pico, on May 15, 1846, made a grant of the land on the easterly line of Montgomery Street between Clay and Sacramento streets, directly opposite the holding then about to be acquired by Mellus and Howard from the Hudson's Bay Company. This lot measured 275 feet by 110 feet in depth. The reason for the lack of full depth of 137½ feet was the presence of beach and bay eastward of the 110 feet mentioned. Mellus and Howard became the owners of this property on May 30, 1846. They, being American citizens, could

not receive a grant, but Mrs. Forbes, being a Mexican-Californian, could. This transfer would appear to have been the result of a prearranged plan.

A year after American occupation of California, Mellus and Howard approached the then American Alcalde, George Hyde (General Kearny during his term of office as Governor of California having authorized the sale of water lots), and an agreement was entered into between the Town of San Francisco and Mellus and Howard, the consideration on the part of the latter being the relinquishment of the excess eight varas lying in Sacramento Street to which Rae had obtained title, while in return the town granted to Mellus and Howard the ten varas needed to extend their property—bought from Mrs. Forbes—to its full depth of 50 varas or 137½ feet.

The document of agreement is dated August 20, 1847:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT
GEORGE HYDE
FIRST ALCALDE OF THE DISTRICT OF SAN FRANCISCO
TO
HENRY MELLUS AND WM. D. M. HOWARD

The first party covenants, promises and agrees to relinquish all the right, title and interest of the Town of San Francisco, of, in, and to all that certain lot of ground containing 10 varas, Spanish measure, fronting on Clay and Sacramento Streets, by 100 varas running parallel to Montgomery Street and adjoining the lot of ground now owned by the said Henry Mellus and Wm. D. M. Howard lying on the Beach in consideration of the said Mellus and Howard hereby covenanting, promising and agreeing to relinquish unto said Town of San Francisco all the right, title and interest of, in and to all that certain lot of ground containing 8 varas (22 feet) fronting on Montgomery Street by 100 varas deep, extending westward into Sacramento Street.

And further, the said George Hyde, First Alcalde, hereby covenants, promises and agrees that the frame building now erected on the aforesaid 8 varas and used for the purpose of a Hide House shall be permitted to remain on it until further directions, the said Mellus and Howard covenanting, promising and agreeing to remove the said Hide House at any time after one month's notice in writing.

GEORGE HYDE,
First Alcalde,
District and Town of San Francisco.
MELLUS AND HOWARD.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us.
FRANK MELLUS.
FRANCISCO GUERRERO.

It would appear that no request was ever made for the removal of Mellus and Howard's "hide house" for the building remained in its original location, thanks to obliging town officials, until swept away by the fire of June 14, 1850.

All connected with the various steps affecting the title to the lot in question appear to have been actuated by that spirit of neighborliness and official complaisance only to be found in small towns. It was a case of helping a fellow-townsman at no cost to the helper, but at the expense of the town.

It is further interesting to note that the exchange between Mellus and Howard and the Town of San Francisco (represented by Alcalde George Hyde) made possible the subsequent building of Central Wharf, afterwards to become Commercial Street, for this early harbor improvement had its shore end on the 10 varas granted under the agreement dated August 20, 1847.

THOMAS P. BURNS.

NOTE: The translation of the letters of Rae, Micheltorena and Hinckley from their original Spanish was made by some unknown and early searcher of records.

REPORT ON THE FIRST HOUSE IN YERBA BUENA

December 1, 1931

To the Board of Directors of the California Historical Society:

The Committee appointed by your president, Mr. C. O. G. Miller, to consider the matter of who was responsible for the building of the first house within the limits of Yerba Buena, now the City of San Francisco, begs to report as follows:

1. That William A. Richardson was the founder of and first settler in Yerba Buena.

2. That William A. Richardson built the first dwelling or habitation in Yerba Buena, June, 1835.

3. That the Leese structure was put up July 3, 1836, a year after Richardson's.

4. That the wording of the inscription on a plaque recently placed upon a building at the southwest corner of Grant Avenue and Clay Street to mark the site of Yerba Buena's first house is both inaccurate and misleading. Investigation of personal documents of both William A. Richardson and Jacob P. Leese and the writings of competent authorities compel this committee to this conclusion; and this committee further suggests that Rosalia Leese, born April 15, 1838, should be referred to as the first child born in Yerba Buena, and not the "first white child born in San Francisco."

We have investigated such documents as are available; notably the letter of Leese to Nathan Spear, dated August 3, 1836 (in the Templeton Crocker collection, California Historical Society) and the deposition of William A. Richardson before the Land Commission in Case No. 280, dated August 20, 1853 (a copy of which is now in the Society's files) and have based our decision largely upon the same. We feel that in justice to Richardson, as the founder of Yerba Buena, a properly worded plaque should be placed upon the site of the first habitation or dwelling built by him at or near the present numbers 827-843 Grant Avenue, recording the fact that he was the founder of Yerba Buena, since grown into the city of San Francisco, and the builder of the first habitation or dwelling within its limits.

We suggest that copies of these findings, when approved by the Board of Directors, together with excerpts of all the authorities consulted, be published in the Society's *Quarterly;* thus to establish a permanent and authoritative record.

Yours very truly,

Douglas S. Watson, *Chairman,*
George D. Lyman, *M. D.,*
Helen T. Pratt.

The inscription on the marker placed on the building at the southwest corner of Clay Street and Grant Avenue, San Francisco, reads as follows:

ON THIS SITE
JACOB P. LEESE
ERECTED THE
FIRST BUILDING
IN SAN FRANCISCO
IN 1836

HERE
THE AMERICAN FLAG
WAS FIRST UNFURLED
IN THIS CITY
ON
JULY 4, 1836.

HERE WAS BORN
THE FIRST WHITE CHILD
IN SAN FRANCISCO
ROSALIA VALLEJO LEESE
ON APRIL 15, 1838

DEPOSITION OF WM. A. RICHARDSON, AUGUST 20, 1853,
IN CASE NO. 280 BEFORE THE U. S. LAND COMMISSION

My name is Wm. A. Richardson, born in England, reside at Sausalito, age 58 years. Have resided in California 31 years; lived for first seven years at the Presidio of San Francisco, and at Mission San Gabriel from the latter part of 1829 to early part of 1835; I think the month, May. From June 1835 to June 1841 at Yerba Buena, and from that time until the present at Sausalito.

I was captain of the Port of San Francisco, first appointed in 1835, received my commission in 1837 and held office until December 1844. There were no inhabitants in Yerba Buena when I came to reside in it, and no lots in Yerba Buena had been granted to anyone as far as I know. I received in the early part of October 1835 a hundred vara lot. It was by order of the Territorial Deputation to the Alcalde of the Mission of San Francisco de Asis, Don Francisco de Haro. The grant was situated on what is now Dupont Street, on the west side of that street, on the north side of the Adelphi Theatre. I first applied to Don Luis Arguello, governor in 1825, for the ground afterwards occupied for the site of Yerba Buena. In 1828 I likewise applied to Governor Echeandia, and I applied in Governor Figueroa's time to him. This was in the year 1834. My application in each case was rejected. I recommended the situation in May 1835 to Governor Figueroa at the Mission San Gabriel. I recommended the cleared place for it. He told me that he had seen a communication of mine to Governor Echeandia (1828). I told him there was a spot, a small space abreast of the anchorage where vessels lay. He asked me the extent, and wished me to give him a sketch of it, which I did.

The sketch I gave him exhibited the land and I stated the extent to be about four hundred varas from the anchorage in a southwest direction. I told him there were very few springs and it was scarce of water. The land described by my sketch was clear of bushes. I left San Gabriel in May 1835, with my family in company with Governor Figueroa to remove to Yerba Buena. I arrived here with my family in the latter part of June 1835 and pitched my tent to await the orders of Governor Figueroa.

In the early part of October 1835 the Alcalde of the Mission of San Francisco de Asis, Don Francisco de Haro, received orders from the Political Government to lay off a small town at the Yerba Buena for the convenience of locating public offices at the Port of San Francisco, for the convenience of the shipping.

The same orders directed me to assist De Haro in doing it and also directed De Haro to give me a hundred vara lot, and to reserve two hundred varas all along the Beach for Government Buildings, and to make a plan of the place selected and measured off for the town. It was laid off and a plan made. The limits were as follows:

[Here follows the description.]

. . . Jacob P. Leese was the first settler who came after me. He built his house on July 3, 1836. His lot was adjoining the lot that I had possession of, to the southeast.

LETTER OF JACOB P. LEESE TO NATHAN SPEAR

Yearva Buena
August 3th 1836.

Mr Nathan Spear

My Dear Sir,

In the first place I must Inform you that Mr Berry passed this place for MonteRey 3 days a go I mearly passed a few lines by him to let you know that I was a live. I have no news to wright you Excepting on our Buisiness here — I must let you know that I have concluded to stop in this place for Good in consequence of the great Prospect a head which is planly four Seen — I have maid a Contract here with a couple of men to Build a house and I do think that it will be a profitable one and cost but a trifle *the Present house is So open and So much Exposed that I am a fraid to leave it a lone* the House which I have Contracted for is to be a fraim 60 feet Long 24 Broad 1½ Storeys high Shead in front the lenth of the House 8 feet wide is to be put up here and all shingled in in the month of October for 4 hundred and 40 Dollars paid in Goods So I think that itts a Dam Good Traid if not dissapointed I have given Mr. Park an order on you for 56-4 — my own private accpt you will charge it to me I dont pay him here on accpt of not appearing with this I do want you by the first vessell to Send me if itts in your hands Some Cand [kind] of Dark Goods for pantaloons and 1 peace of Worsted Vesting

1 Grss Table Spoons —

1 Lot of flat Chisells — No 2 Inch 1½ — 1 — ½ —

and I do Beleave that you have got a Saw Such as they Saw Boards with and if in case that you have Send it to me as there is Sail for it here — I wish you wood tell Larkins that if the Tailor has Left Old Jimmys waistcot with him to Give it to you or sind it up By the first — and also tell him that Jimmy Says that he doas Ow him a Small trifle and he Shall Be Paid before Long —

That timber which Mr. Melish was to of Paid Mr Majors for find out if it is paid as I have Recd a Letter from MonteRey from Mr Luther Cooper informing me to have him paid as for Mr Cooper I do not know nor maid no Contract with him for it was with Mr Majors — and if in case that Majors is not Paid you will please to Pay him it is 25 Dollars No More But My Respects to Mrs Spear

Yours and Truly

JACOB P. LEESE

[NOTE: The line italicized by the Committee shows plainly the flimsy construction of the Leese house, which was about as permanent as Richardson's tent dwelling of June, 1835, and the equal of Richardson's rebuilt, rough board shack of October, 1835.]

REFERENCES FROM PRINTED SOURCES

History of California, by Theodore H. Hittell, Vol. II, page 203:

In May, 1835, Figueroa, who was then at San Gabriel, met William A. Richardson there; informed him that he had resolved to lay out a settlement for the convenience of public officers at the anchorage of Yerba Buena and offered, if Richardson would settle there, to make him captain of the port. . . . In August, Richardson was called by a message from Figueroa to Monterey; but, upon his arrival there in September, he found that Figueroa was dead. Jose Castro, the "primer vocal" or first member of the deputation, informed him, however, that Figueroa had before his death made arrangements for the laying out of the new village and that he, as captain of the port, was to select a lot for his habitation. . . . Richardson answered that he had left his family alone in a tent on the site of the proposed settlement. . . .

[On his return] Richardson made a rough map of the location and selected his building lot one hundred varas square, commencing on the westerly side of the street ["La Calle de la Fundacion"] four hundred varas from where it started and at a point about what is now the middle of Dupont street between Clay and Washington streets; and there he fixed his residence — a tent rather than a house, or a little of both — which was the first erected at Yerba Buena and the commencement, so to speak, of the future city.

Idem, page 591:

After the first settlement by William A. Richardson . . . the next settler was Jacob Primer Leese . . . He arrived first in the early part of 1836. . . . Leese returned again to Yerba Buena, selected his lot and, having brought along lumber and workmen, immediately put up his house. It was a frame structure, sixty feet long by twenty five feet wide, and on the lot near Portsmouth Square where the St. Francis hotel was afterwards built. Richardson's house on the lot adjoining was a temporary concern, or a tent rather than a house. Leese finished his building before the Fourth of July and on that day celebrated the anniversary of American independence in it by a banquet and fandango.

The Beginnings of San Francisco, by Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, 1912, Vol. I, page 248:

Richardson made the first plan for the town of Yerba Buena, erected the first structure there, became owner of Sausalito rancho in 1836, and was captain of the port in 1837. [1835 is the correct date.]

Idem, Vol. II, pp. 505-6:

The first grant on record is that to William A. Richardson, June 2, 1836, and is signed by Estudillo, he having been elected alcalde January 1st. Richardson claimed that he had been granted the lot in 1835. He had probably been permitted to occupy it provisionally in that year, as it was in 1835 that he had put up the structure described by Dana. In 1837 he built the "Casa Grande" on the site of the tent.

In the winter of 1835-6 Jacob Primer Leese, a native of Ohio, then residing in Los Angeles, was advised by some shipowners, trading on the coast, to establish a store and commission house in San Francisco. . . . Through the favor of Governor Chico he obtained the grant of a one hundred vara lot on what was later the block bounded by Dupont, Stockton, Sacramento, and Clay streets, and there built the first house in Yerba Buena.

Idem, bet. pp. 506 and 507:

From a lithograph of the original drawing by John J. Vioget, certified by Jacob P. Leese. *Yerba Buena (now San Francisco) in the Spring of 1837.* [This is signed by Jacob P. Leese with the addition, "who built the first house." The original lithograph by Britton and Rey is dated 1867. The reproduction in Eldredge is from the issue of 1893 and alone bears the signature of Leese.]

Idem, page 507:

Leese's house was used for a store and dwelling, but he found it inconvenient to do business so far from the water.

The Annals of San Francisco (1855), by Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon and James Nisbet, page 163:

Captain W. A. Richardson was appointed the first harbor master, in the year 1835, and the same year, he erected the *first house, or description of dwelling,* in the place. [The italics are the author's.] It was simply a large tent, supported on four red-wood posts, and covered with a ship's foresail.

Idem, pages 167 and 168:

In May, 1836, Mr. Jacob Primer Leese arrived in the Cove of Yerba Buena. . . . [After returning to Monterey to interview Governor Chico.] Back to Yerba Buena Cove hastened Mr. Leese and on the first of July presented to the alcalde his new letters. On the following day he landed boards and other material for building and immediately took possession of a one-hundred vara lot, adjoining on the south side that on which Captain Richardson's tent was already erected. Mr. Leese's lot was situated about two hundred or two hundred and fifty yards from the beach, and is the spot where the St. Francis Hotel was subsequently erected, at the corner of Clay and Dupont streets. Mr. Leese was indefatigable in hastening the erection of his dwelling, which was finished by ten o'clock on the morning of the Fourth of July. . . . These two *houses,* belonging to Captain Richardson and Mr. Leese, were the earliest houses erected in Yerba Buena, and formed the beginning of the City of San Francisco. It is but eighteen years since their erection. . . . While Mr. Leese was

erecting his mansion, which seems to have been rather a grand structure, being made of frame, sixty feet long and twenty-five feet broad. . . .

[NOTE: The italics are the committee's.]

Seventy-five Years in California, by William Heath Davis, San Francisco: John Howell, 1929, page 11:

Richardson and his family settled in Yerba Buena in 1835.

Idem, page 12:

Some time after Richardson had fixed his residence at Yerba Buena, he . . . piloted the vessel [the brig Ayacucho] into Yerba Buena Cove. After the vessel cast anchor, Captain Richardson and his friends . . . came on shore and visited Richardson's tent, the domicile of the family. This tent was the first habitation ever erected in Yerba Buena. . . . The family lived under that tent about three months, after which Richardson constructed a small wooden house, and later a large one of adobe on what is now Dupont (Grant Avenue) near the corner of Clay Street.

Idem, page 23:

At the first celebration of the Fourth of July, in 1836, at Yerba Buena, the families of the prominent residents were invited to the festivity . . . The celebration was at the residence of Jacob P. Leese, situated at a point which is now Dupont Street (Grant Avenue), near Clay Street.

Two Years Before the Mast, by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Riverside Library Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, from Chapter XXVI:

Behind this point is the little harbor or bight, called Yerba Buena, in which trading-vessels anchor, and, near it, the Mission of Dolores. There was no other habitation on this side of the Bay, except a shanty of rough boards put up by a man named Richardson, who was doing a little trading between the vessels and the Indians. [Dana visited Yerba Buena in the *Alert* in December, 1835. In a later edition he added a foot note as follows:]

The next year (1836) Richardson built a one-story adobe on the same spot, which long afterwards was known as the oldest house in the great city of San Francisco.

The first paragraph above is from the Riverside Library edition of *Two Years Before the Mast*, published by Houghton Mifflin Company. Earlier editions of the book read somewhat differently. In order to determine when Mr. Dana changed the text of Chapter XXVI, the following letter was addressed to the publishers, and their answer is given herewith:

December 30, 1931

Houghton Mifflin Company
The Riverside Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

Chapter 26 of your Riverside Library edition of *Two Years Before the Mast* by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., contains information of great importance historically relative to the first house in San Francisco. The original 1840 edition of *Two Years Before the Mast* in chapter 26 has an entirely different reading from the above. Could you or the author's family inform us when the author made the changes above noted? We should like to know the date of the first edition in which the present reading occurs.

We shall deeply appreciate your courtesy in supplying us with the information desired.

Yours very truly,
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
By DOUGLAS S. WATSON
Chairman of the Committee for the
Determination of the location of
San Francisco's First Dwelling.

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
2 Park Street, Boston

January 7, 1932

Douglas S. Watson, Esq.,
California Historical Society,
609 Sutter Street,
San Francisco, California.
Dear Mr. Watson:

Your letter of December 30th to the Riverside Press has been referred to our editorial offices here for reply. The changes in chapter 26 of Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* were made by the author in bringing out the new edition of the book in 1869. You will find on page 469 of the Riverside Library Edition, in the supplementary chapter entitled "Twenty Four Years After," which relates his experiences in 1859, some further mention of Richardson's shanty of 1835. It seems evident that this visit of 1859 brought the recollection of Richardson's house to his mind, so that he considered it advisable to make the change in the original story as well as to refer to the house in this supplementary chapter.

Yours very truly,
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
F H A

History of California, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, San Francisco, 1885, Vol. III, page 709:

In 1835 William A. Richardson became the first settler, erecting as a temporary dwelling a tent or "shanty of rough boards" as Dana saw it in December, replaced within a year or two by an adobe building. . . . In 1836 Jacob P. Leese, in partnership with Spear and Hinckley, obtained a lot and built a wooden structure for house and store near Richardson's, completing the building in time for a grand celebration on July 4th.

A History of California: The Spanish Period, by Chapman, Charles E., New York, 1921, page 466:

Relieved of their embarrassing presence Figueroa went actively ahead with measures for colonization, during the few remaining months of his life. He made a number of land grants to individual settlers, as indeed he had done before. While in Los Angeles he met William Antonio Richardson, an Englishman born, who as a youth of twenty-two had reached Alta California, in 1822 as mate of a British ship, which he deserted. Figueroa induced Richardson to accept an appointment as captain of the port of San Francisco. Richardson went there, and put up the first building in San Francisco other than those at the less conveniently located presidio and mission. Around this house as a nucleus a settlement called "Yerba Buena" sprang up, where the shipping and business interests of the bay region centered, eventually to become the principal district of the city of San Francisco.

THE GIFT OF FRAY JUNIPERO SERRA'S BIRTHPLACE TO THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

The Rotary Club of Mallorca at Palma on the Island of Mallorca, Balearic Isles, Spain, recently purchased Serra's birthplace in Petra some fifteen miles distant from Palma, and wishing to preserve the old dwelling and at the same time make a museum of it in which a permanent exhibit of Padre Serra's life work in building and establishing the California missions could be shown, wrote the Society the following letter:

ROTARY CLUB DE MALLORCA

Numero 2475

Palma de Mallorca, January 29, 1932

The President of the California
Historical Society,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Sir:

In accordance with advice from our fellow Rotarians of San Francisco, I have the honor to address the Society under your worthy presidency in order to place before it a project and request its intervention in order to bring it to a close. However, I believe that, by the time you receive this letter, the Rotary Club of San Francisco will have already informed you of our desire.

The Rotary Club of Mallorca, in a desire to perpetuate the memory and magnificent work of our distinguished countryman, Fray Junipero Serra, has recently acquired the house in the village of Petra (Mallorca) in which the humble Franciscan, who was later to colonize California, was born.

The ruling idea of the Club in acquiring this house was that of strengthening the bonds of cordiality which today still unite your country to ours, and as a means of making the presentation, pure and simple, and without any obligation to anyone, of that house to the city of San Francisco, represented by its Town Council.

This presentation, of which this letter is advice, we desire to make with all the solemnity of which the high spirit with which it is permeated is worthy, and to this end we have planned to have it take place during the month of May next, thus coinciding with the Spanish Rotary Conference to be celebrated in Mallorca.

We believe that our initiative merits, both on the part of your Society and on that of the city of San Francisco, a cordial reception, since the memory of Fray Junipero Serra is so fervently revered over there. For this reason we would request of you your collaboration in the development of our initiative, serving as mediators for us in making the offer of Fray Junipero Serra's birthplace to the town Council of San Francisco in representation of that city.

It is possible that the Mayor may already be advised of our proposition; but in any case we hope that you will be our Embassador for said offer, and that you will communicate to us the reply you receive from your city.

We should like to receive this reply as soon as ever possible, by cable if you so think fit, in order not only to know the opinion of San Francisco, but also in order to be able to have everything organized by the month of May for the solemn presentation of the house.

We also have hopes of there being present at the act of presentation, in order to take possession of the house of California's colonizer, representatives of San Francisco Town Council and also, if possible, of your Society.

In complement of all the foregoing, the Rotary Club of Mallorca wishes to install in the house, utilizing part of same or constructing a small pavilion, a Museum in which the missionary activities of Fray Junipero Serra in California may be reflected.

It is evident that anything that represents his evangelical and colonizing activities can only be found in the land where such activities reaped the rich harvest of love and civilization. We are of the opinion that none other than the

California Historical Society is more capacitated to make that collection. We therefore appeal to that Society and to the town Council of San Francisco with friendly insistence that they try to gather together all kinds of articles and data they are able and which will contribute to the formation of the Museum which is projected, and send same to us.

For this purpose it is not necessary to go to any great expense, as it is sufficient to send photographs, statistics and objects of artistic but not necessarily intrinsic value; and also, to give you a definite idea, some implement or other which may bring to mind the labor of Fray Junipero Serra in California.

As the space which can be reserved as Museum is very limited, however little you may send it would soon be filled, and your efforts are all the Rotary Club aspires to receive from California in order to complete the furnishing of the house that witnessed the birth of the famous missionary.

Naturally we quite understand that it may be premature to hope that by the month of May, and during the first fortnight of that month when the Spanish Rotary Conference will take place, we shall have the Museum set up, but it would be much better to be able to open the Museum on making the presentation. If this should not be possible, of course, we shall have to be satisfied with holding the official opening of the Museum later on.

To sum up:

The Rotary Club of Mallorca desires and requests the California Historical Society to be its representative and to inform the Mayor of San Francisco (presenting him with the attached letter) of the proposition made by our Club to present the birthplace of Fray Junipero Serra in Petra (Mallorca) to that City, to obtain from the said authority its reply to this initiative, to note that the presentation is planned to take place in the month of May next, to advise us of the opinion of the Town Council and of your Society, and finally to tell us whether we may count upon the cooperation of both the Council and the Society in setting up the projected Museum.

We are quite aware that this is perhaps asking very much, but we hope that the zeal of your Society in the interests of culture and history of California will not slacken so far as to prevent the realization of the initiative of the Rotary Club of Mallorca, and the glory of Fray Junipero Serra be shadowed.

Thanking you in anticipation for whatever you may be able to do in this respect, I am,

Yours very sincerely,

EUSEBIO PASCUAL,
Presidente.

A special meeting of the Board of Directors was called for February 26, at which the proffered gift and the Society's endeavors in connection with it were discussed. The following cablegram was ordered sent as a result:

February 27, 1932

ROTARY CLUB
PALMA DE MALLORCA

MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO WILL MEET OUR SPECIAL COMMITTEE MARCH FIRST TO DISCUSS MATTER OF SERRA BIRTHPLACE PRESENTATION STOP WE GLADLY ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITIES AND WILL ACTIVELY COOPERATE TO FURTHER ALL YOUR AIMS LETTER FOLLOWS WILL CABLE PROGRESS

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A committee of five was appointed to take charge of the matter, consisting of Douglas S. Watson, Chairman, Sidney M. Ehrman, C. O. G. Miller, D. Q. Troy, and George Ezra Dane. This committee called upon the Honorable Angelo J. Rossi, Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, on Tuesday, March 1, 1932. At this meeting the City Attorney, John J. O'Toole, was present and to him the legal phases of the acceptance of the gift were referred.

As a result of this meeting the California Historical Society was asked to

submit a formal request relative to the acceptance of the gift of the Serra Birthplace, a copy of which follows:

March 3, 1932

Honorable Angelo J. Rossi
Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco
and
The Honorable The Board of Supervisors
of the City and County of San Francisco

Gentlemen:

The California Historical Society, acting on behalf of the Rotary Club de Mallorca Numero 2475, of the Balearic Isles in Spain, respectfully requests of you in your official capacity that you accept a gift conveying the birthplace of Fray Junipero Serra in the village of Petra in Mallorca, which has been acquired by the Rotary Club de Mallorca and which it desires to preserve as a memorial "to perpetuate the memory and magnificent work of our distinguished countryman," to quote the words of the letter of transmittal.

It is further the wish of the Rotary Club de Mallorca that the City of San Francisco, named for the patron saint of Fray Junipero Serra's order, should be the perpetual holder of title to this memorial. It is specifically stated in the letter of transmittal that the gift is without financial obligation on the part of the City and County of San Francisco, either at the time of transfer or thereafter.

It is the intention of the Rotary Club de Mallorca to make a museum of the building, in which the missionary activities of Fray Junipero Serra in California may be reflected. To this end the California Historical Society has agreed to acquire and forward the material necessary and fitting to accomplish this end.

The California Historical Society in view of the foregoing respectfully requests that suitable action be taken to accept the gift of the Rotary Club de Mallorca, by the Honorable Mayor and the Honorable The Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco.

Respectfully,
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SIDNEY M. EHRMAN, *President*
[SEAL] ANSON S. BLAKE, *Secretary*

This petition was sent by the Mayor with his approval to the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, asking them to pass the necessary enabling act to permit the acceptance of the gift. At its meeting on March 14, 1932, the Board of Supervisors unanimously passed the following resolution which Mayor Angelo J. Rossi immediately signed:

Resolved, That the offer of the California Historical Society, acting on behalf of the Rotary Club de Mallorca, Numero 2475, of the Balearic Isles (Spain), to convey to the City and County of San Francisco the birthplace of Fray Junipero Serra in the village of Petra, Mallorca, without financial obligation upon the part of the City and County, is hereby accepted.

Both San Francisco's Mayor and the Society cabled the Rotary Club de Mallorca regarding the acceptance of its gift, formal presentation of which will be made May eleventh next at Palma, Mallorca.

WESTERN HISTORY

A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West*

BANDEL, EUGENE
Frontier life in the Army, 1854–1861. Translated by Olga Bandel, and Richard Jente. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company.

BELL, KATHERINE M.
Swinging the censer. Reminiscences of old Santa Barbara. Santa Barbara: Copyright by the author, 1931. xx+287 pp., illust.

BERTHOLD, VICTOR M.
The Story of the pioneer steamer "California." New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1931. Illust. [An account of the voyage to California in 1848 of the famous side-wheel steamer which carried the United States mail between New York and San Francisco.]

BURNS, WALTER NOBLE
The Robin Hood of El Dorado. New York: Coward-McCann, 1932. 304 pp. [The story of Joaquin Murieta.]

CAILLET-BOIS, RICARDO R.
Nuestros Corsarios, I, Brown y Bouchard en el Pacifico, 1815-1816. *Publicacions del Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas,* lii, Buenos Aires, National University of Buenos Aires, 1930. 69+2+xiv pp.

CHIPMAN, W. F.
General Vallejo Memorial Association. [San Francisco, 1931.] 26 pp., illust. [The Association is seeking to raise funds for the purchase of the Vallejo home and museum at Sonoma.]

CONMY, PETER T.
John Swett, father of education in California. *Grizzly Bear Magazine,* February, 1932.

DRIGGS, HOWARD R.
Covered-wagon centennial and ox-team days. Edited by Arthur W. Proctor. New York: World Book Co., 1932. 318 pp. 8vo.

ELLISON, ROBERT S.
Independence Rock. The great record of the desert. Casper, Wyo.: privately printed, 1930. 41 pp. 8vo. [Contains a list of the early names at present legible on the rock.]

ESTABROOK, EMMA F.
Givers of life [Indians]. Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico, 1931. 101 pp., illust.

FLANDERS, LOUIS W.
Simeon Ide. Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Co., 1932. [Brother and biographer of William B. Ide.]

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* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazine and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary of the Society the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—Charles L. Camp.

HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

Huntington Library Bulletin. Number 1: May 1931. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 214 pp., illust. Contains "Henry Edwards Huntington, the founder and the library," by Robert O. Schad; and "Huntington Library collections."

MCMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C.

The Beginnings of printing in Utah, with a bibliography of the issues of the Utah Press, 1849–1860. Chicago: The John C. Calhoun Club, 1931. 91 pp. [An edition of 160 copies.]

MCMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C., AND ALLEN, ALBERT H.

Jotham Meeker, pioneer printer of Kansas. With a bibliography of the known issues of the Baptist Mission Press at Shawanoe, Stockbridge, and Ottawa, 1834–1854. Chicago: Eyncourt Press, 1930. 169 pp., illust.

MAHR, AUGUST C.

The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816. Stanford University Publications, in History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume II, Number 2. Stanford University Press, 1932. 194 pp., illust., 8vo. [This is a reprint and translation of Adelbert von Chamisso's account of his visit in San Francisco while acting as naturalist with the Kotzebue expedition in 1816; together with an extract from Kotzebue's report (in German and English); a reprint and translation of Chamisso's "Remarks and opinions" contained in Kotzebue's *Voyage around the World,* London, 1821; a reprint and translation of Choris' description of San Francisco from his *Voyage Pittoresque autor du Monde,* Paris, 1822; a reprint and translation of Spanish documents concerning the *Rurick's* visit to San Francisco (from the Bancroft Library copies); a reprint and translation of Chamisso's botanical studies with respect to California plants and other scientific studies made at the time of the *Rurick's* visit; together with a bibliography and index. Illustrated with reproductions of Choris' and Chamisso's drawings.]

MERK, FREDERICK

Fur trade and empire: George Simpson's Journal. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. [The appendix contains letters and documents of the Hudson's Bay Company including one to Jedediah S. Smith.]

MILLER, JOAQUIN

[Letters from Joaquin Miller to his brother George Melvin Miller.] *The Frontier* (Missoula, Montana), December, 1931. [Never before published.]

NEIHARDT, JOHN GNEISENAU

Black Elk speaks; being the life story of a holy man of the Ogalala Sioux. New York: Morrow, Ladd and Co., 1932. 295 pp., illust. [A famous warrior and medicine man of the Ogalala Sioux tells his life story, describing his experiences in the fighting days of his youth, and his adventures while traveling in Europe with Buffalo Bill.]

NUESTRA SEÑORA LA REINA DE LOS ANGELES

El Camino Real y Nuestra Señora de los Angeles. Published by Ntra. Sra. la Reina de los Angeles (Our Lady Queen of the Angels) 535 N. Main St., Los Angeles, California. [Copyright, 1931, by The Old Mission Church, Los Angeles, Calif.] 36 pp., illust.

PANAMA PACIFIC LINE
California, a guide for newcomers. Issued by The Panama Pacific Line, International Mercantile Marine Company. San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York, 1932. 66 pp.

POPE, JOHN
Captain Pope's route to the Pacific. *Frontier Times* (Bandera, Texas), March, 1932.

REMSBURG, JOHN E. AND GEORGE J.
Charley Reynolds, soldier, hunter, scout and guide. With an introduction by E. W. Howe. Kansas City, Mo.: H. M. Sender, 1931. [From the account published serially in the *Potter Kansan,* 1914–1915.]

SACRAMENTO BEE
Seventy-fifth anniversary of the Sacramento Bee, 1857–1932. Vol. 151, No. 24,432. 64 pp. and rotogravure section of 25 pp.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH [ed.]
California letters of Lucius Fairchild [1849–1855]. Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society, 1931.

SMITH, CHARLES W.
A Union list of manuscripts in libraries of the Pacific Northwest. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1931. 57 pp. 8vo. [A continuation of the compiler's well-known bibliographies of the Northwest.]

SMITH, FRANCES RAND
The Mission of San Antonio de Padua [California]. Stanford University Press, 1932. ix+108 pp., illust.

SMITH, HARVEY PARTRIDGE
The Charm of old San Antonio, a Spanish settlement of the Southwest. New York: R. F. Whitehead, 1932. 28 pp., illust. (Monograph ser. of *Architecture of Amer. colonies and early republic,* Vol. 17, No. 4.)

SNYDER, JACOB R.
Frontier days. Written in 1851. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers,* Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 1931.
—The Diary of Jacob R. Snyder. Written while crossing the plains to California in 1845. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers,* Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 1931.

SNYDER, RACHEL J.
Franklin Sears. A short sketch of his life. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers,* Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 1931.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS
Excerpts from the memorial of The Society of California Pioneers to Major Jacob Rink Snyder written by Wm. F. Swasey, Sam Brannan, R. J. Tiffany. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers,* Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 1931.

STALDER, WALTER
New light on California's early days. Early records reveal that oil was produced in Humboldt County and refined at San Francisco in 1865; small output and high operation and distribution costs consumed profits. *Petroleum World,* Dec. 1931, pp. 32–34, 40, illust.

STEWART, GEORGE R.
Bret Harte argonaut and exile. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. xiii+385 pp., illust. 8vo.

SWIFT, FLETCHER HARPER
Emma Marwedel, 1818–1893, pioneer of the kindergarten in California. *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Education,* 6, 1931. pp. 139-216, pls. 1-5, 2 figs. in text.

TALBOT, THEODORE
The Journals of Theodore Talbot. Edited by Charles H. Carey. Portland, Ore.: The Metropolitan Press, 1931. 170 pp. [Talbot joined Frémont's expedition of 1843 and went overland with him to the Columbia River and California; went again to the Columbia via Cape Horn and Honolulu in 1849; served as lieutenant in one of the first military companies to occupy the new Oregon Territory, where he remained until 1852.]

THOMAS, ALFRED BARNABY
A Study of the Spanish Indian policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777–1787. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 420 pp., illust. [Includes six diaries and extensive correspondence, containing important historical, geographical and anthropological information; Father Morfi's hitherto unknown description of New Mexico; a contemporary map by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco indicating the distribution of practically all of the localities mentioned by Father Morfi and delineating the six administrative divisions of the province.]

WATSON, DOUGLAS S.
San Francisco's first Christmas. Written by Douglas S. Watson and printed in an edition of one hundred copies for the friends of the author by the Grabhorn Press: 1931.

WEST, LEOTI L.
The wide Northwest. Spokane, 1927. 285 pp. [Early times in Walla Walla and elsewhere.]

WHITE, OWEN P.
Lead and Likker. New York: Minton Balch and Co., 1932. 274 pp. [Includes accounts of Chris Evans, bandit of Southern California, and of Albert B. Fall.]

WILSON, CAROL GREEN
Chinatown quest. The life and adventures of Donaldina Cameron. Stanford University Press, 1931. ix +263 pp., illust. 8vo.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Indian Uprising in Lower California 1734–1737 as described by Father Sigismundo Taraval. Translated and edited by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. Los Angeles: Privately printed for the Quivira Society, 1931. xii+ 298 pp. Illust. Maps. 8vo.

This is the journal of a modest Jesuit who claimed to have saved but a few heathen souls and who saw Lower California in its darkest time yet whose faith permitted no admission of futility in the missionary enterprises in that barren land.

Mrs. Wilbur, who has previously translated the Salvatierra Journal and is also well known to our members by reason of her translation of the De Massey narrative, has furnished an admirable summary of the history of the Peninsula in the Mission period. This constitutes the preface to the work. The Journal itself is translated from the original manuscript in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library.

The account begins at the time of the first Indian revolts in the vicinity of La Paz. It expands rapidly into a detailed, almost painful catalogue of the miseries and calamities that engulfed the southern Missions. The shadowy savage background of the picture with the calm figure of Taraval accepting whatever destiny might have held of good or evil furnishes an unmistakably dramatic setting. But there is not the least attempt in the narrative to indulge in dramatic or literary effect.

Taraval finds himself, with a few soldiers, faithful natives and other lone missionaries, staking his very life against stealthy onslaughts by night; against hunger and sickness and even death at sea in frail canoes. Through all this the quiet tenor of his narrative never changes and he becomes less of a combatant force and more of a philosopher, engaging often in retrospect in speculation as to which acts have shown the mercies of God and which the ever present activities of a very lively Devil. Viewing the combat from the side of the belligerent natives it would of course have been necessary to reverse the scheme. When the Spaniards tortured a medicine man and raised his head upon a pole the natives might well have questioned the beneficence of the act. By the same token they might have interpreted a little differently than Taraval, the murder of a missionary.

The Journal covers a period of Peninsular history that is but little known. Most of the Fathers, whether they were German, Scotch, or Spanish Jesuits, were too busy moving out of arrow-range to do much writing at this time. The trials of the "Mother of California" are more than significant in a study of the methods developed at that early period—methods which were later to be turned to account in the missionary conquest of Alta California itself.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

The Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, March, 1932, pp. 140, iv.

With this number of the *Quarterly* we welcome the advent of another western historical publication. *The Pacific Historical Review* is to be published quarterly by the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. It lists a distinguished Board of Editors from various educational institutions on the Pacific Coast, under the general direction of Dr. John C. Parish, of the University of California at Los Angeles, as Managing Editor; and its patrons include a number of individuals and institutions.

Among the material of California interest in this first issue are articles on "Manifest Destiny and the Pacific" by Dan E. Clark, of the University of Oregon; "California, Japan, and the Alien Land Legislation of 1913," by Thomas A. Bailey; "From Pierre's Hole to Monterey: a Chapter in the Adventures of Nidever," by William E. Ellison, and a valuable essay on what he has termed "Biblio-cartography" by Henry R. Wagner. An imposing book-review section discloses a desire to cover the literature of the entire Pacific area, and a section entitled "Comment and Historical News" lists briefly the contents of the various historical publications of the Pacific Coast. This last should prove to be a valuable feature.

It has for some time been the conviction of the writer that closer cooperation should be developed among the several groups which have for their purpose the recording of western historical material. The field is large, and there is no need for "competition." Perhaps such a program of cooperation may be evolved by the managers of this new *Review,* and the editors of this *Quarterly* will heartily welcome such an effort.

The subscription price of *The Pacific Historical Review* is $4.00 per year, single numbers selling for $1.25. Anyone desiring to subscribe may address Carl F. Brand, Box 1696, Stanford University.

CARL I. WHEAT

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, December 15, 1931. The speaker was Monsignor Charles A. Ramm; his subject, "Boyhood Experiences and Observations in the Yuba Diggings." The speaker described the community in which he spent his boyhood. The era of the great hydraulic mining operations on the San Juan Ridge passed under his observation. He told of the means of transportation, of the stage drivers and their methods, and of the mule team drivers and their methods. He paid high tribute to the sterling human characteristics of the inhabitants of the district where his boyhood was spent. It was a charming word picture of a phase of California life that has almost vanished. There were over seventy-five members and guests present.

On the occasion of the annual meeting of the Society which was held at the Clift Hotel on Friday, January 22, 1932, Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee addressed the Society. The subject was, "The Truth about Frémont, an Inquiry." Mr. Wiltsee assembled and reviewed critically the evidence that has been made public relative to Frémont's moves from the time he was in the vicinity of Monterey until after the Bear Flag episode was concluded. The result of Mr. Wiltsee's inquiry was his firm conviction that Frémont did not pursue the course he did without instructions from the administration at Washington, whether communicated or delivered by Lieutenant Gillespie or perhaps prearranged before he started. In view of this conclusion Mr. Wiltsee pointed out that the disparagement of Frémont by the California historians for his part in these events was unjust. There were sixty-seven members and guests present.

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Wednesday, February 17, 1932, with Mr. C. E. Grunsky as the speaker. His subject was "Reminiscences of Sacramento with Special Reference to Sutter's Fort." He referred briefly to his early contacts with Sacramento, beginning with a journey in infancy and continuing down to the time when as a State official he was stationed there. During this time he became interested with a group of residents in the restoration and preservation of the Fort. There was nothing visible but some heaps of rubbish and the wreck of the two-story building which stood within the enclosure. This was inhabited by a rag-picker. After some study of descriptions and a survey of the site, one corner of the adobe wall was located and an excavation made to determine the directions in which the walls ran. Mr. Grunsky made a sketch of the Fort and its buildings from the data available and called it to the attention of the Native Sons. They voted to undertake the purchase of the property and its gift to the State. With liberal assistance from Colonel Fred Crocker this was accomplished and the Fort restored along the lines of Mr. Grunsky's sketch. The only marked change from the original buildings was the use of tile instead of shingles. There were sixty-nine members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

Annual Meeting

The annual business meeting of the Society was held during the luncheon on Friday, January 22. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read, and the following Directors were elected for the year 1932: Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. Charles L. Camp, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mr. Frederick C. Clift, Mr. Robert E. Cowan, Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., George D. Lyman, M.D., Mr. C. O. G. Miller, Mrs. Helen Throop Pratt, Mr. D. Q. Troy, Mr. Douglas S. Watson, Mr. Carl I. Wheat, and Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee. The Report of the Secretary and Treasurer was read, as follows:

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

For the Year Ending December 31, 1931

It is a pleasure to report that the Membership Committee has carried on an active campaign which has resulted in a net gain of fifty members of the Society, as follows:

Membership

Members January 1, 1931		407
Elected 1931 (2 patron, 78 active)		80
		487
Resigned (20 active, 1 patron)	21	
Dropped for non-payment of dues	6	
Died	3	30
Total membership December 31, 1931		457

One patron member resigned and one was transferred to active membership as of the year 1930.

Meetings

Eight Directors' meetings were held during the year, and the Society held eleven luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

Jan. 23 "Alexander S. Taylor, the First Bibliographer of California." Mr. Robert Ernest Cowan.
Feb. 25 "Life in the California Mines, 1850-1851." Mr. Anson S. Blake.
Mar. 24 "The Californian and His History." Professor Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California.
April 21 "The First Printing in California—the Mexican Press, 1831-34." Mr. John Howell.
May 19 "Milton S. Latham—Congressman—Governor—Senator." Professor Edgar E. Robinson, of Stanford University.
June 28 At the Villa Montalvo, former home of the late Senator James D. Phelan.
Aug. 25 "Joaquin Miller" in Song, Story and Slides, by Juanita Miller.
Sept. 22 "Romantic Days of '49." Excerpts from the letters of "A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush" (Franklin A. Buck) given by his daughter, Mrs. Byron Thorpe Carr.
Oct. 20 "New Strikes in Old Diggings." Mr. George Ezra Dane.
Nov. 17 "The First Emigrant Train to California." Mr. Anson S. Blake.
Dec. 15 "Boyhood Experiences and Observations in the Yuba Diggings." Monsignor Charles A. Ramm.

There were no exhibitions during the year.

Gifts and Loans

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, manuscripts, maps, and other historical items, received during the year 1931, the Society is indebted to the following:

Mrs. T. G. Akers, Mrs. Janet C. Beardsley, Mr. Everett N. Bee, Blake, Moffitt & Towne, Mrs. Mae Helene Bacon Boggs, Mrs. Avis Yates Brownlee, Commodore James H. Bull, Mr. W. F. Chipman, Mr. Robert E. Cowan, Coward McCann Inc., Mr. F. P. Cronemiller, Jr., Editorial Labor, S.A., of Barcelona, Mrs. Jessie Edwards, Mrs. Kate Felton Elkins, Mrs. Charles N. Felton, Mr. Louis Goodman, Mr. B. D. Marx Greene, Harvard University Press, Miss Laurilla M. Hathaway, Miss Roberta E. Holmes, Mr. Stewart R. Hotchkiss, Miss Stella Huntington, Mr. H. A. Johnson, Kansas State Teachers' College, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Mr. Thomas F. Madigan, Inspector Thomas J. Maher of U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Mrs. George W. Marsh, Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie, Miss Juanita Miller, Mr. Fred R. Muhs,

Newberry Library, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Miss Eleanor O'Brien, Mrs. A. E. Oliver, Mrs. Elsa Hunt Roach, Miss Louise M. Siebe, Mr. Blanding Sloan, Mrs. G. H. Smoots, Mrs. A. J. Snyder, Society of California Pioneers, Miss May Southern, Mr. Walter Stalder, Mrs. C. R. Standberg, Mr. George W. Stewart, Mr. Carl Brent Swisher, Mr. D. Q. Troy, University of Colorado, Mr. John Van Male, Mr. Benjamin F. Vay, Vermont Historical Society, Mr. Henry R. Wagner, Mr. Horace H. Wall, Mr. Robert Walsh, Mrs. James Watt, Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler, Mrs. Francis Williams, Mr. Robert C. Wilson, Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee, Mr. A. M. Woodbury, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Worcester Historical Society, Wyoming State Department of History.

The Grabhorn Press contributed for the *Quarterly* an illustration of the Mission of Santa Barbara from its recent publication, *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849–52, the Journal and Drawings of H. M. T. Powell,* Edited by Douglas S. Watson, San Francisco, 1931. Mr. H. R. Wagner also contributed the two plates for the maps which accompanied his article in Vol. X, No. 4, of the *Quarterly,* "The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay."

Mr. Templeton Crocker's collection of books, manuscripts, maps and pictures has been at the service of the Society in its rooms throughout the year as in the past. We note, as we have in the past two or three years, a continued use of this collection by people engaged in research.

We are indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, and Mr. C. O. G. Miller for gifts of $250.00 each made to the Society for the purpose of carrying on its activities during the year.

Financial

The receipts and disbursements of the Society for the year were as follows:

Cash on hand January 1, 1931		$ 226.31
Receipts during 1931:		
Dues of Patron Members	$ 2000.00	
Dues of Active Members	3799.00	
Back Dues of Active Member	10.00	
Advance Dues of Active Members	130.00	
Binding Quarterlies	36.80	
Sale of Quarterlies	150.00	
Sale of Pamphlets, Maps, etc	119.88	$ 6245.68
Sale of Special Publications:		
Spanish Voyages	215.00	
Hollingsworth and De Massey	34.67	
Pioneer Miner and Pack Mule Express	665.66	
Postage and Expressage on above	7.91	$ 923.24
From Templeton Crocker toward Rental	900.00	
Gifts from Other Sources	755.00	$ 1655.00
Miscellaneous including Montalvo Luncheon		169.85
		$ 9220.08
Disbursements:		
Rental	$ 2700.00	
Salary of Coresponding Secretary and substitute	1800.00	
Typing	44.70	
Telephone	69.10	
Stationery and Office Supplies	132.33	
Luncheons, including Montalvo	372.45	
Quarterly	1990.85	
Miscellaneous Printing and Multigraphing	72.20	
Taxes	40.40	
Membership Pamphlets	190.00	
Binding Quarterlies	46.00	
Postage and Miscellaneous	152.37	$ 7610.40
Repaid S. M. Ehrman Publication Loan	$ 330.00	
Repaid H. R. Wagner for Sales	75.88	
Repaid Publication Fund for Sales	43.52	
Pioneer Miner and Pack Mule Express	716.82	
Camel Pamphlet	89.50	$ 1255.72
Cash on hand December 31, 1931		353.96
		$ 9220.08

The past year represents a gain in annual income but our receipts from back dues of last year are lacking from this year. Our current expenditures are somewhat less than last year.

During the year Mr. H. R. Wagner reestablished our publication fund, paying us the sum of $750.00 which was the approximate investment of the fund in the Spanish Voyages, and we are now collecting for him any sales that are made on this account. During the past year we repaid Mr. Ehrman $330.00 due him for the advance to publish the Spanish Voyages. Sales of our publications totalled $1042.67 and the balance in our publication fund is $811.65. The Society has made one special publication during the year—*The Pioneer Miner and the Pack Mule Express* by Mr. E. A. Wiltsee, the whole cost of the publication of which was borne by Mr. Wiltsee and we are selling the volume for his account until the cost shall have been repaid.

Respectfully submitted,

ANSON S. BLAKE,
Secretary and Treasurer.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Coe, W. R.	New York City	E. A. Wiltsee
Degnan, Miss Mary Ellen	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Getz, Mrs. Milton E.	Beverly Hills	Milton E. Getz
Hammond, George P.	Los Angeles	E. A. Wiltsee
Knecht, Gustav	San Francisco	R. Heimann
Lynch, Edward J.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Montocola Club,* The	Susanville, Calif.	Mrs. Angus Gordon Boggs
Pettit, Mrs. F. R.	Ross, Calif.	Mrs. Jonathan J. Crooks
Rensch, Hero E.	Los Altos	Carl I. Wheat
San Juan Bautista Mission	San Juan Bautista	A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Schilling, Miss Else	San Francisco	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Swinerton, Mrs. Alfred	Woodside, Calif.	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Thompson, Winfield M.	Los Altos, Calif.	Frederick C. Clift
Torchiana, H. A. van Coenen	San Francisco	E. A. Wiltsee
University of Pennsylvania Library	Philadelphia, Pa.	

* A gift from Mrs. John E. Raker.

A RECENT GIFT

THE ARTHUR L. DUNCAN COLLECTION

Mrs. Arthur L. Duncan, of Piedmont, has presented to the Society the collection of books relating to California made by her late husband, who was a member of this Society. Mrs. Duncan's gift also includes a large oil painting by the well-known artist, W. A. Coulter, showing a ship entering the Golden Gate.

This gift has been received with much appreciation, and it is to be hoped that others may add to the library of the Society by similar gifts from time to time. The Templeton Crocker collection containing many extremely rare items of Californiana has drawn many scholars to the Society's office, where it is kept on loan. The Society is desirous of collecting a library of California material which will be of practical value to its members and to visiting students and others.

A short title list of the books presented to the Society by Mrs. Duncan follows:

Barry and Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the "Spring of '50";* Bates, *Four Years on the Pacific Coast;* Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger;* Benton, *California Pilgrim;* Bonner, *Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth;* Bowles, *Across the Continent* (2 copies); Bowman, *Pacific Tourist;* Bryant, *Rocky Mountain Adventures;* Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California;* Chapman, *History of California: The Spanish Period;* Clark, *Lights and Shadows of Sailor Life;* Clark, *Society in Search of Truth, or Stock Gambling in San Francisco;* Cleland, *History of California: The American Period;* Cleveland, *Narrative of Voyages;* [Cole], *Manuelo's Narrative;* Colton, *Deck and Port;* Colton, *Three Years in California;* Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific;* Cossley-Batt, *Last of the California Rangers;* Cummins, *Story of the Files;* Davidson, *Discovery of San Francisco Bay;* Davis, *California Romantic and Resourceful;* Davis, *Sixty Years in California;* Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings;* [Derby] ("John Phoenix") *Phoenixiana;* Downing, *My Thirty Years out of the Senate;* Eldredge, *Beginnings of San Francisco* (2 vols.); Eldredge and Molera, *The March of Portola, and the Log of the San Carlos;* Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance;* Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (4 vols.); Evans, *A La California;* Fairbanks, *Stories of Our Mother Earth;* Farnham, *Pictorial Travels in California and Oregon;* Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies;* Forbes, *History of California; Frémont, Life, Explorations and Public Services of;* Frémont, *Memoirs;* Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842;* Frost, *Pictorial History of California;* Howe, *Argonauts of '49;* Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California;* [Lucatt], *Rovings in the Pacific* (2 vols.); Lynch, *Senator of the Fifties;* Manly, *Death Valley in '49;* Melville, *In the Lena Delta;* Melville, *Typee;* Newcomb, *Our Lost Explorers;* North, *Mother of California; Pacific Coast Pulpit;* Peters, *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures;* Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi;* Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains;* Sala, *America Revisited;* Scherer, *The First Forty-niner;* Seward,

Travels around the World; Smucker, *Life of Col. John Charles Frémont;* Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco;* Steele, *Old California Days;* Taylor, *Between the Gates;* Taylor, *California Life Illustrated;* Taylor, *Eldorado* (2 vols.); Thomes, *Life in the East Indies;* Upham, *Scenes in El Dorado;* Wagner (ed.) *Zenas Leonard's Narrative;* Wakeman, *Log of an Ancient Mariner;* Webster, *Gold Seekers of '49;* Whidden, *Ocean Life in the Old Sailing Ship Days;* Willard, *History of Los Angeles;* Willey, *Transition Period of California;* White, *History of the Union Pacific Railway*; Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (2 copies); Williams, *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (2 copies); Wise, *Los Gringos;* [Wright] ("Dan De Quille"), *History of the Comstock Mines;* Young, *Journalism in California.*

IN MEMORIAM

William H. Thornley

In San Francisco on January 5, William H. Thornley, a member of this society since August 1922, died. Mr. Thornley was born in the old town of Sonoma in 1856, but soon moved to San Francisco, which ever after remained his home. Finishing his schooling at the old Lincoln School he went to work about the U. S. Customs House and spent his business life there as a customs broker, and probably there is no man now living who had such a fund of personal recollection of noted men and scenes of early San Francisco as he possessed. For many years he took an active interest in local politics and served as the last State Commissioner of Immigration. He also was foreman of the Grand Jury, a Grand Trustee of the Native Sons of the Golden West, being a charter member of California No. 1 of that brotherhood; a member of Crockett Lodge No. 239 F. & A. M., of Elks San Francisco Lodge No. 3, of the Bohemian Club, and of many other organizations. He died beloved by all who knew him.

Hart H. North.

Eusebius Joseph Molera

January 14, 1932, Eusebius Joseph Molera, Third Vice-President of this Society, was called to his eternal rest. Mr. Molera was born in Vich, Spain, November 14, 1846. He came of a distinguished family, his father having been a general in the Spanish Army.

Mr. Molera was a graduate of the Royal Academy of Engineering at Madrid, and as a young man left Spain for America with J. C. Cebrian, who had been a fellow student in the Academy. He arrived in California in 1872 and in 1875 married Francisca G. Amelia Cooper, daughter of John B. R. Cooper, a half-brother of Thomas O. Larkin and a pioneer of 1823.

Mr. Molera's first employment was with the U. S. Lighthouse Engineers. After a short time he resigned from that service to form a partnership with J. C. Cebrian, as Civil Engineers and Architect.

Mr. Molera had the spirit of culture engrained in his nature and was always at the service of any organization having for its object the beautification of San Francisco. He early joined the Academy of Sciences, becoming President of the organization in 1906. He was also a member of the Chit Chat Club, an unique organization devoted to literary discussion.

Always interested in any movement pertaining to the honor and glory of Spain, he took an active part in the erection in Golden Gate Park and dedication of a statue to Junipero Serra, founder of the Missions, which was dedicated November 17, 1907; he officiating as a representative of the City government.

Mr. Molera had never taken an active interest in local politics (although intensely interested in the upbuilding and adornment of his city) but when Doctor Taylor was appointed Mayor in 1907 after the graft trials, one of the first

appointments he made to the Board of Supervisors was that of Mr. Molera. He took an active part in the deliberations of that body and was made Chairman of the Committee on Beautification and Adornment of San Francisco, and Public Receptions. As Chairman of that Committee on December 2, 1907, he submitted a report to the Board requesting the President of the United States to send the Atlantic Fleet to Pacific waters, and calling for a public reception and entertainment. A committee of twenty-five, headed by James D. Phelan, was organized, and of this Mr. Molera was a member; subscriptions were called for and the sum of $74,072 was raised. From May 6 to 14, 1908, the largest crowd ever assembled in San Francisco gathered to honor the fleet.

In 1909 Mr. Molera was a member of the committee which arranged the Portola celebration, the most colorful affair ever held in the State. He prepared for the committee a translation of the Log of the *San Carlos*, first ship to enter the port of San Francisco, which was transcribed from a certified copy of the original in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. In 1915, Mr. Molera in conjunction with Mr. Cebrian, presented to the City the statue of Cervantes which stands in Golden Gate Park.

He was an eminent engineer and he was honored by membership in the Royal Society of Spain, the Academy of Sciences of Barcelona, the International Society of Electrical Engineers of Paris, and many local scientific and technical organizations. In 1922 he was elected a Director of the California Historical Society, and maintained an active interest in the proceedings of the Society, attending all its functions and ever seeking to advance its interests.

The Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, on January 19, 1932, passed resolutions extolling him and extending sympathy to his surviving relatives.

He was a patron of the arts and sciences. Like all true Catalonians he was a Royalist, and like St. Paul who boasted he was "a citizen of no mean city," so Mr. Molera was proud of his ancestry and spoke the Catalan language even more fluently than Spanish. He visited Spain frequently up to a short time before his death, one of his last visits being to the Island of Majorca, birthplace of Junipero Serra. He was the architect of the beautiful Spanish church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe on Broadway, which was destroyed in the fire of 1906, and his funeral took place from the new church on the same spot. He leaves a daughter, a member of this Society; and his only son, Andrew J. Molera, also a member of this Society, died on October 8, 1931. His many friends will miss him from his usual haunts, and the organizations which cherished his association will know him no more.

"Though modest, on his unembarrassed brow
Nature had written 'gentleman.' He said
Little, but to the purpose; and his manner
Flung hovering graces o'er him like a banner."

D. Q. Troy